

3/11/77

Dear Mr Raymond,

I am very glad that the enclosed thesis is to find a home at last, & thank you for your acceptance of it.

Of course we are agreeable to donating it, & its being photocopied.

Enclosed also is a photocopy of a recommendation from Prof. Heaton, which describes how my father laboured over this thesis.

Yours, faithfully,
G. Wilson

THE UNIVERSITY OF ADELAIDE.

December 4, 1922.

To whom it may concern,

I have been for the past six years in constant contact with Mr. Cromer, in my capacity as Lecturer in Economics and Director of Tutorial Classes in the University of Adelaide. For four years Mr. Cromer was General Secretary of the Workers' Educational Association in this State, and we had to collaborate in the arrangement and administration of University Tutorial Classes. During that time I formed a high opinion of Mr. Cromer's ability, enthusiasm, and practical idealism. During the past three years he has been a scholarship student in the University, studying for the Diploma in Economics and Political Science. Although he came to examination work without any previous experience he rapidly adapted himself to the methods and requirements of University study, and his examination papers have shown each year a steady improvement in quality. This year, as part of his course in Advanced Economics, I asked him to write a thesis in answer to the question, "How did the industrial movement in South Australia turn from industrial to political action?" The thesis involved a considerable amount of real research among minute books, conference reports, etc., of the trade unions and Labour Party, and Mr. Cromer amazed me by the energy and skill with which he ploughed through an enormous mass of contemporary material. The thesis is now in my hands, and I regard it as a very valuable introductory study into the origins of the political Labour movement.

should Mr. Cromer follow up the work he has already begun there is no reason why he should not become the accredited historian of Labour politics in Australia.

I might also say that in the University Examinations held last month Mr. Cromer obtained a First Class in Advanced Economics and a very good Second Class in Political Science.

(Signed) H. HEATON, M.A., M.Com., D.Litt.,

Lecturer in Economics and

Director of Tutorial Classes.



From Victor E. Goussier.
(Essay)

AUSTRALIAN LABOUR HISTORY

A Study of the S.A. Labour Movement,
the growth of Trade Unionism, and
the evolution of political action

PREFACE.

The subject of this essay was suggested to the writer by Dr. H. Heaton, M.A., M.Com., D.Litt., in connection with the course in Advanced Economics at the University of Adelaide during 1922. Its scope was confined to the question, "What were the causes that induced the South Australian Trade Union movement to turn its activities in a political direction?"

Australian political parties possess very little literature to provide an historical background for their present activities, and not much research has been undertaken in connection with the political history of the Australian States. The meteoric rise of the Australian Labour Party, the beginnings of which are so very recent, to the attainment of political power in the decade or so before the war, has not resulted in the publication of much literature dealing with its history or its activities.

The minute books and letter files of the Adelaide Trades and Labour Council and the South Australian Branch of the Australian Labour Party were ransacked for information bearing on the subject of this essay, while the half-yearly reports of the Trades and Labour Council and the reports of State and Interstate Congresses were also brought under review in order to find material for it. There was so much material available that the essay grew to much larger proportions than was originally intended. The subject proved most interesting, especially so in regard to the period prior to the maritime strike, when a movement was on foot in South Australia for a political alliance between the Adelaide Trades and Labour Council and the South Australian Employers' Union. The coming of the maritime strike in the other States, however, broke down the alliance, and definitely turned the South Australian industrial movement towards direct political action.

In this essay I have endeavoured to keep strictly to matters connected with the development of the trades union movement towards political action, and its unfoldment until the attainment of political power by the Labour Party in South Australia. Other contemporary developments of interest and importance have been avoided, such as the evolution of the idea of arbitration and conciliation,

②
growth of the White Australia ideal, and so on; while later developments arising out of the war, including the conscription issue and the growth of Nationalism, have not been dealt with, as being outside the scope of the subject. The period covered is from the birth of the Adelaide Trades and Labour Council to the attainment of power by the Labour Party in South Australia--from 1884 to 1914--this being the period during which trade union organisation underwent the transition from individual craft unions to the formation and development of a definite political Labour Party.

Victor E. Cromer.

Adelaide, February 20, 1923.

A STUDY OF THE SOUTH AUSTRALIAN LABOUR MOVEMENT--THE GROWTH OF
TRADES UNIONISM AND THE EVOLUTION OF POLITICAL ACTION.

(By Victor E. Cromer.)

CHAPTER I. [ENGLISH INFLUENCES ON THE MOVEMENT.]

The development of political thought and action in Australia is a subject of both interest and importance. Australia is faced with many unique problems, and is far removed from the main currents of world influences. Owing to the fact that the Labour Party came into possession of the reins of Government in Australia, for the first time in the history of the world, alike in the Commonwealth and in the States of New South Wales, Queensland, Western Australia, and South Australia, its history is of especial interest, and ~~also~~ the events which caused the transition from the purely industrial movement to the definitely political organisation of the Australian workers are of great importance to the student.

English influences were largely responsible for the origin of the political ^{idea} in the trade union movement in South Australia, events in the English industrial and political world of the seventies of last century causing the trades unionists to devote attention to political action, and stimulating their endeavour to obtain direct political representation in Parliament.

The early idea of "political action" among the trade unions consisted largely of an endeavour to bring a certain amount of pressure to bear on the members of the older parties, the Liberals and Conservatives, in order to try and induce them to grant a few concessions to trade unionists. Had the Liberals and Conservatives been astute enough to grant a few of these concessions there is no knowing how long the development of a direct Labour Party would have been delayed; and, incidentally, it is interesting to note that in New Zealand the rise of a Labour Party was considerably postponed by the granting of concessions as they were asked for. When Australian trades unionists realised the futility of trying to wring even the most innocuous concessions from the unwilling hands of the older parties in Parliament, the idea of obtaining direct representation

in Parliament began to dawn in their minds.

The ~~idea of~~ ^{plea for} direct representation was put forward very timorously in the early stages of the trades union movement in South Australia; and when it was accepted, the utmost that was hoped for was only to get a few representatives in Parliament to voice the desires of Labour, and to gain certain concessions by means of Labour representatives inside the House, instead of exercising pressure outside of it. The thought of Labour members ever becoming sufficiently numerous to form a Ministry of their own had not even begun to make its appearance in the early days of the movement--so comparatively recent in point of time.

From the time when Aristotle wrote his "Politics," political theorists have been well grounded in the idea that it would be utterly impossible for the workers to govern. They were "lopsided" in their development, and therefore could not take a true view of political questions. Even the suggestion that there should be Labour representation in Parliament was looked at askance by the older parties. The unheard-of thing was discussed, and promptly ruled out of court.

But the industrial movement was growing, and trades unionism in Australia was greatly influenced by the developments in Europe generally, and in Great Britain in particular. In the 1886 Inter-colonial Trades Union Congress, held in Adelaide, Mr. J. G. Barrett drew the attention of the congress to the influence of the events in England. He asked, "Is it not a fact that the agitation carried on in England before the Reform League, which eventually led to the Reform Bill of 1867, was mainly through the efforts of the trades unions? . . . Labour in England was not recognised until the time of George III. It was then that the working classes realised that they ought to combine for their own preservation. An Act of George III. recognised them, and from that time the condition of the working classes improved. It has only been by struggles long and severe that Labour has been recognised in England. It was as late as 1871 that the Trade Union Bill was passed that gave them a legal status."

Mr. R. Bell, in his "Trade Unionism," gives some of the details of events, the influence of which acted in no uncertain manner on

the movement in South Australia.

"In 1845," he says, "as a result of the great revival of trade unionism, there was started what was called the National Association of United Trades, something on the lines of the present Parliamentary Committees and Trade Union Congress. In 1844 the co-operative movement was started. . . . In 1861, George Howell became secretary of the Dandon Trades Council, and was succeeded the following year by George Udger. . . . They succeeded in getting the Council to carry on a vigorous agitation for the amendment of the Masters and Servants Act. Demonstrations, . . . petitions to Parliament, deputations, lobbying the House of Commons, and conferences of trade unionists and legislators took place, until at last they succeeded in 1867 in getting a Bill passed remedying the grossest injustices. This, the first success of the trade unions in the political arena, strengthened their confidence in Parliamentary agitation."

"In 1868," continues Mr. Bell, "a large national trade union congress was called together at Manchester, when a Parliamentary committee was formed to assist the movement in securing the reforms aimed at. From this time onward the Trades Union Congress became a permanent institution. In 1871, concurrently with the passing of the Trade Union Act, the Criminal Law Amendment Act was passed, which largely nullified the main principles of the Trade Union Act, or gave opportunities to employers to proceed against workmen without much difficulty. The Parliamentary committee, therefore, set to work to get the Criminal Law Amendment Act repealed, and for four years persistently agitated for this, believing it to be an indignity to the workmen, as well as hampering them in bringing about improvements in the general conditions of labour. The legislation of 1871 was regarded by the Government as the final solution of the question. But some of the judges declared that it only made the object of a strike legal, while it left the means by which the object was to be attained illegal. It was therefore no advantage to have a strike made legal if the means . . . were illegal. The employers again took advantage of this, and men and women were imprisoned with impunity. For instance, in South Wales seven women were imprisoned for saying 'Bah' to one blackleg."

Further efforts were made to get the Criminal Law Amendment Act

repealed, but Mr. Gladstone, in 1872, says Mr. Bell, "refused to admit that there was any necessity for further legislation and declined to take the matter up, and during that session the Parliamentary Committee failed to get a member willing to introduce a Bill for the repeal of the Criminal Law Amendment Act."

Mr. Bell continues, "The Trades Union Congresses in 1872, 1873, and 1874 severely condemned those members of Parliament who treated the Parliamentary Committee with contempt. The general election was now approaching, and the pressure upon the political parties was increased."

Then there appeared on the horizon a cloud no bigger than a man's hand, the first faint expression of a movement that was to develop in intensity and power as the years rolled on. The efforts of Labour, treated with contempt by the members of the older parties, were now turned in a new direction for, says Mr. Bell, "at the Trades Union Congress in 1874 it was reported that several societies including the miners, had actually voted money for Parliamentary candidates. At the general elections no fewer than 16 Labour candidates went to the poll. The result was that Mr. Alex. Macdonald and Mr. Thomas Burt were returned as the first Labour representatives in Parliament." It is interesting to note that Mr. Thomas Burt continued to hold his seat until 1921, and ^{eventually} became "father of the House of Commons," ~~having held his seat longer than any other member, remaining a member of the Labour Party all through.~~

In 1875, as the result of the efforts of the two Labour members, and the assistance of a few others, the Criminal Law Amendment Act was unconditionally repealed, and other concessions granted. "This," says Mr. Bell, "was a great triumph for the trade unionists. They were now free to work to improve the condition of the toiling masses, to raise their standard of life. Trades unions also grew in membership and finances. The Trades Union Congress made steady growth in membership and political influence. It carried on the agitation outside, and brought pressure to bear inside the House of Commons, and largely by this and the able advocacy of Macdonald and Burt, their representatives in Parliament, was secured the abolition of the Truck Act and the enlargement of the Factory and Workshops Act."

Events in the English trade union and political world were being closely watched by the active trades unionists in South Australia, and much additional information was gleaned from newly-arrived immigrants with the latest news of events in the old country which did not appear in the local press. Thus there arose a tendency for thought and active in the trade union movement in South Australia to proceed along similar lines to the developments which were taking place in England. In the other Australian colonies events were moving along under the same general influences, thus the colonies acted and reacted on each other by means of correspondence and the periodic ~~trades union congresses.~~ trades union congresses.

The policy under which the colony of South Australia had been settled was largely based on the Wakefield system, which, while it possessed a number of excellent features, had as ~~one~~ one of its main ~~objects~~ objects the idea of keeping up the price of land to such an extent that only well-to-do people could purchase land, the worker being prevented by the price from every being able to raise sufficient capital to obtain land for himself. The economic situation in South Australia from 1880 to 1890 was to a certain extent a crucial period resulting from the effects of the Wakefield system, the land being in the possession of big owners, while the bulk of the people were landless. During this decade there was a great deal of unemployment, resulting in much unrest, ~~there being~~ ^{and} a strong under-current of radicalism largely manifested ~~itself~~ itself through the single tax movement. The first Labour papers were of a single tax character, indicating where the main difficulty of the situation existed. The beginnings of the Socialist movement ~~were~~ were also to be noted. The Conservatives were in power politically, with strong protection as a fiscal policy. The trade union leaders favoured protection, provided there was a reduction of duties on the necessaries of life, even going so far as to advocate "the free breakfast table," i.e., taking the duties off tea, coffee, cocoa, and kerosine, and other ~~immediate~~ immediate necessaries.

BIRTH OF THE ADELAIDE TRADES AND LABOUR COUNCIL.

CHAPTER II.

Prior to the advent of the Adelaide Trades and Labour Council, there were about eighteen or twenty trades unions in ~~South Australia~~ Adelaide. ~~and~~ At the 1886 Intercolonial Trades Union Congress, held in Adelaide, two years after the formation of the Adelaide Trades and Labour Council, twenty trades unions, were represented, with an approximate membership of between 3000 and 4000 members.

The beginnings of the Adelaide Trades and Labour Council were very inconspicuous, and the establishment of the organisation rested on the shoulders of two or three enthusiasts. The preliminary meeting in connection with the formation of the Trades and Labour Council was held in the Bristol Tavern, Adelaide, on January 31, 1884. The minutes of that

meeting, taken from the official minute book of the Adelaide Trades and Labour Council, read as follows--

"At a large and representative meeting of delegates from the various trades and labour societies in South Australia, called together by special advertisement for the purpose of discussing the advisability of otherwise of forming a United Trades and Labour Council in this colony for the purpose of uniting more closely the various trades societies, and for discussing unitedly any question affecting the welfare of any society, and for the purpose of having more political influence in the colony. . . .

"Mr. F. A. Freer was unanimously elected to the chair, and explained to the meeting the objects of such a council. On the motion of Mr. Knight, seconded by Mr. Clements, it was resolved that steps should be immediately taken to form the said council. Mr. Hannah was elected as secretary pro tem. and was instructed to write to the secretary of the Trades Council in Melbourne with a view of obtaining a copy of the rules and laws of that council, in order to see how the council in Melbourne was ruled and governed."

Alas. for the "large and representative" gathering at the first meeting. When the delegates met for the second meeting at the Bristol Tavern, in Franklin street, on February 22, 1884, there were only six delegates present, in addition to the president and secretary, and on March 12 only four delegates attended, representing two societies, those present being Messrs. Burns, Bown, and Zadow, from the Tailors' Society, and Mr. Boyce, from the Plasterers' Society, and the president and secretary.

However, at the meeting on February 22, 1884, the following were present--Mr. E. A. Freer (chair), Mr. Jenkins, Carpenters and Joiners; Mr. Henty, Painters; Mr. Boyce, Plasterers; Mr. Kindler, Masons and Bricklayers; Mr. Burns, Tailors; Mr. Betchell, Harness and Collarmakers; Mr. Hannah, secretary pro tem. The following officers were elected for a term of six months---President, Mr. F. A. Freer; secretary, Mr. R. Hannah; treasurer, Mr. Henty. It was decided that the entrance fee be ten shillings for each society, with a contribution of 3d. per week, and that the meetings be held fortnightly. It was decided that 50 circulars be printed stating the aims and objects of the council, to be sent to the various

societies.

As indicating at that early stage the need for a Labour press, at the meeting of the council on March 7, 1884, it was decided that the secretary write to the "Advertiser," contradicting some statements made in reference to the building trade in a sub-leader. ~~It was also suggested at that meeting that a copy of the "Penny Trumpet" be sent to each society, as it pointed out directly the aims and objects of the council.~~

From March 12, 1884, the place of meeting was shifted to the Sir John Barleycorn Hotel, Rundle street. On March 19, 1884, only five being present, the meeting was adjourned owing to the limited attendance. On March 28 a committee ~~of the following~~ was appointed to meet at the Sir John Barleycorn Hotel on April 1 to consider the advisability of adopting the code of rules forwarded from Melbourne -- ~~Mr. Bown, Tailors; Mr. Boyce, Plasterers; Mr. Henty, Painters; Mr. Coveney, Builders' labourers; and the secretary, Mr. Hannah.~~

At the meeting of April 26 the president (Mr. F. A. Freer) was instructed "to visit several societies with the object of persuading them to send delegates to the council." The president subsequently visited a number of societies, and from this time onward the societies affiliated gradually increased, and the meetings were more largely attended.

At the meeting of May 2, 1884, the first effort in connection with an industrial dispute was made by the council, it being decided "that the secretary write to the Bakers' Society in the name of the council expressing sympathy with them in their contemplated strike, and promising to support them as far as possible in helping them to attain their just rights from their employers, and also asking them to send delegates to the council."

At a subsequent meeting, on May 9, Mr. Swainston, from the Bakers' Society, attended the council, and it was decided "that each delegate, on giving his report to his society, explain the necessity of upholding the journeymen bakers in their contemplated strike by advising each member to withhold his custom from the shops that will not grant the very reasonable demands of the men." At a meeting on May 29, 1884, Mr. Swainston, for the bakers, stated that the men were still on strike, and that they intended starting

a co-operative bakery. The council decided to take steps to have a conference, if possible, with the masters, with a view to settling the dispute. The strike, however, ended in an unsatisfactory manner before the conference could be held.

At ~~the same~~ ^{the} meeting on May 2, 1884, Mr. Stoakes gave notice of motion to "Discuss at our next meeting the advisability of calling a public meeting with a view to forwarding the business of a trades hall." At the next meeting, on May 9, at the Sir John Barleycorn Hotel, Mr. Stoakes moved--"That a public meeting be called to discuss various questions, notably the question of asking the Government for a piece of land in the city as a site for the proposed trades hall." This was seconded by Mr. Phillips, and carried unanimously. It was further decided to invite all trades and labour societies to attend the meeting. A committee, ~~consisting of Messrs. Hannah, Freer, Stoakes, Arnold, Russell, Swainston, and Zedow~~ was appointed to hold a preliminary meeting to draw up an agenda for the proposed public meeting. On June 13, 1884, it was decided that the council delegates confer with the Eight Hours Celebration Committee with regard to the proposed Trades Hall.

Unemployment was rife in the colony of South Australia in 1884, ~~largely owing to the unorganised state of the workers~~, and a large amount of the time of the early Trades and Labour Council meetings was taken up with the unemployed and immigration problems. On May 16 Mr. Phillips suggested a "deputation from this council to wait upon the Government to see if something can be done to employ some of the surplus labour in the colony." The president, Mr. Freer, proposed "That a committee be appointed from this council to get up a requisition to present to his worship the Mayor, asking him to call a meeting in the Town Hall to discuss the immigration question, and to take immediate steps to provide work for the unemployed." On May 21 it was decided "That the secretary write to the city members asking them to attend a public meeting to be held in the town hall on May 27, 1884, to discuss the present depressed state of the Labour market and the immigration question." Mr. Allerdale Grainger, M.P., ~~at the next meeting~~ wrote signifying his

intention of being present, ^{but} ~~while~~ Mr. Stirling regretted his inability to attend.

At the meeting of the council on June 6, 1884, the first Parliamentary Committee was established, ~~which~~ ^{was} consisted of Messrs. Boyce, Arnold, Freer, Dalziel, and Pope. The object of this committee was to bring pressure to bear on the Liberal and Conservative members in order to get them to consider the interests of labour. This in practice proved largely a forlorn hope and led subsequently to the discussion which took place in 1886 at the Intercolonial Trade Union Congress on "Direct Representation of Labour in Parliament." On June 26, 1885, a Parliamentary Committee in accordance with the rules was formed, consisting of Messrs. Clements, Jenkins, Kean, Knight, Hannah, and Wells.

The Parliamentary Committee met on July 2, when it was decided "That owing to fearful depression existing throughout the whole of the colony, this meeting strongly protests against the action of the Government in bringing more immigrants at the present time." A great mass meeting under the auspices of the Parliamentary Committee was held in the Town Hall on July 6, 1885, when the above and similar resolutions were put to the meeting and carried.

The resolutions were put before the Commissioner of Crown Lands by a deputation on Tuesday, July 7, 1885, ^{but} ~~to which~~ the Commissioner's ^{reply} ~~replied~~, ^{to quote the minutes;} ~~and the minutes state,~~ "but" did not give us much hope of effect being given to the wishes of the meeting," and an indignation meeting was subsequently held.

On July 16, 1885, the Parliamentary Committee resolved to support the candidature of Mr. Grainger for the district of Sturt, and also to support ^{Mr. C. C. Kingston's} ~~the~~ Payment of Members Bill then before the House. ~~at the instigation of Mr. C. C. Kingston.~~

As indicating the nature of the movement at that time, at a meeting held on September 19, 1885, Mr. Wells, the delegate to the Intercolonial Trades and Labour Conference in Sydney, was instructed to support the following--Payment of members, enfranchisement of seamen, nationalisation of land, the abolition of State-assisted immigration, boiler inspection, federation of labour in Australasia, Workshops and Factories Bill, direct taxation of land, and the extension of the hours of polling.

It is interesting to recall that, in place of the well-known rendezvous, the Botanic Park, which has been so popular with labour gatherings on Sunday afternoons for many years, Victoria square, in the centre of the city of Adelaide, was the original rallying place of the labour stalwarts of the early days, and the first meeting of the kind held in Victoria square under the auspices of the newly formed Trades and Labour Council took place on Monday, August 25, 1884, when the subject of free and assisted immigration was ventilated.

At the first half-yearly meeting on August 8, 1884, Mr. J. C. Clements was elected president, Mr. Arnold vice-president, Mr. R. Hannah secretary, and Mr. Pope treasurer. The meeting spent most of its time discussing the unemployed problem, and arrangements were made for a meeting of the unemployed.

On May 1, 1885, the president, Mr. Clements, reported \$ "That the delegates of the Typographical Society objected to the political character of the council." The council unanimously decided that "to be anything we must be political." This is a most interesting point at that early stage in its history, although even the Trades and Labour Council's idea at that period in being political was merely to exercise a certain amount of pressure on sitting members, and endeavouring to interest them in unemployment and tariff revision, which were then the principal subjects of discussion in the council. At the next meeting, May 15, 1885, Mr. Clements resigned as president owing to the carrying of a motion in which he was attacked because of his hostility to the Tariff Reform Association, which was advocating protection. At the next meeting Mr. R. Hannah was elected president.

The period from the beginning of 1885 to the Intercolonial Trades Union Congress was one of steady growth, both of trades unionism and of the Trades and Labour Council, and much work was done in helping unions on strike, or in the preventing and settlement of disputes. On May 30, 1885, Mr. Carpenter, treasurer of the committee appointed, reported that they had collected £288 in South Australia to help the Melbourne bootmakers who were on strike, and in many ways the Trades and Labour Council accomplished excellent work in the interest of labour.

CHAPTER III.

THE CONGRESS OF 1886, AND "DIRECT REPRESENTATION OF LABOUR."

The first Intercolonial Labour Conference in Australia was held at Sydney in October, 1879, and intercolonial conferences were subsequently held in Melbourne in April, 1884; in Sydney, in October, 1885, and in September, 1886, in Adelaide. Subsequently conferences were held in Brisbane in 1888, in Hobart in 1889, and at Ballarat in 1891, while the first Australian Commonwealth Trade Union Conference was held in Sydney in November, 1902, a gap of eleven years. In his preface to the report of the first Australian Trade Union Congress, held in Sydney in 1902, Mr. T. H. Thrower, secretary to the congress, states---"During the 11 years which have elapsed since the last conference the whole character of the industrial movement in Australia has been changed. The old prejudices which divided the workers of the different States and made a federation of Labour impracticable are now happily removed. The fiscal question is now a relic of the dead past; interstate jealousies are non-existent; and to-day Labour has direct representation in every Parliament in Australia--an achievement due in a great measure to the persistent advocacy of the representatives of Labour in conference assembled."

The Adelaide Trades and Labour Council was formed in 1884, and in 1886, at the fourth Intercolonial Trade Union Congress, which was held in Adelaide on September 2, 3, 6, and 7, 1886, one of the principal subjects for discussion on the agenda paper was the question of "Direct Representation of Labour in Parliament and Payment of Members." In his introduction to the report of the 1886 congress Mr. W. A. Robinson, the secretary, writes--"The fourth Intercolonial Trades Union Conference, which has just concluded its labours, is yet another step towards the emancipation of the working classes. . . . Many extraordinary changes have taken place since the time--not so far back--when such combinations were declared illegal, abominable, and dangerous, and not the least remarkable of these changes is the change in public opinion with respect to them. . . . The matter of 'Direct Representation of Labour in Parliament,' and its natural corollary, payment of members, of course occupied a prominent place in the syllabus of the congress. It gave rise to perhaps the most

interesting debates of the session, and it had only one drawback, if it can be called such--the speakers were unanimous. Whether or not our legislators will take any notice of the expressions of opinion herein recorded remains to be seen, but the fact remains that in the opinion of a very large number of voters they are practically unrepresented, and that it is impossible to obtain proper representation except under a system of payment of members. There was no hesitation on the part of the congress in giving expression to this opinion, and coming as it does from a number of representative men, the opinion should carry great weight."

At the 1886 conference Mr. W. Galloway (Queensland) said-- "They had impressed upon members of Parliament that they would have to watch the affairs of the trade societies as the societies watched those of Parliament. They expected from members of Parliament, as from the delegates to a Trades and Labour Council, a true account of their proceedings." To which the members of the conference said "Hear, Hear."

The debate at the 1886 Conference in Adelaide on "The Direct Representation of Labour in Parliament" was opened by Mr. A. A. Kirkpatrick, ^(Adelaide) who in the course of his remarks brought out many points of interest. Mr. Kirkpatrick said, in commencing his remarks, "I consider that if I can show that our Parliament, in the absence of direct representation of Labour, ~~the whole colony~~ has failed to legislate with equal fairness to all classes of the community, and that with direct representation of Labour, the whole colony would be benefited, I shall have made out a good case. . . . Our past and present system of taxation is a striking example of wealth being favoured at the cost of Labour. . . . If Labour was fairly represented, the only point of view from which the (fiscal) question would be looked at would be--which is the best scheme in the interest of the State? One more illustration of the evil of the present system--The wealthy, ever eager to make great profit (and I suppose naturally so) frequently form land syndicates, and buy up large tracts of land from the State at a nominal price and they tell us we ought to be thankful to get their money, as it assists the Government to meet their liabilities. So far so good. But what is the next step they take? They get their representatives in Parlia-

ment to pass through Bills to construct railways and other public works at the cost of the State, which gives an enormous increase to the value of their land, while the whole of the people of the colony have to pay the interest on the money borrowed. This would not be an unmixed evil if the works were reproductive. . . . What would be the result if the non-propertied classes were represented by men from their own ranks? It would be this. Having no selfish ends to serve in considering the construction of public works, they would only sanction those which would be to the interest of the State, and thus the country would be saved the loss of millions of money, which now goes into the pockets of a privileged few, and the colony would have every chance to make headway, which it has not at present. Representing as they would be the great bulk of the people, their object would be always the greatest good to the greatest number. I could quote many more proofs in support of my contention, such as the discussions on the Bill dealing with the pastoral leases which fall in in 1888, when some of the lessees, who are also members of Parliament, were virtually settling the conditions on which those leases should be dealt with; and it is a most interesting study to look at the division lists in the Houses of Parliament during the passing of the Bill. The most striking point in the study is the fact that where the interests of these gentlemen were at stake, as against the interests of the State, they were all of one mind and voted accordingly--of course in their own interests, But perhaps we shall be told it was only a coincidence." Mr. Kirkpatrick then proceeded to argue in favour of ayment of members.

Mr. J. G. Barrett, of the Tinsmiths' Society of Victoria, was the next speaker, and in the course of his address said--"Political economists have declared that labour is the source of all wealth, it was the first price, the original purchase money that was paid for all things, and it will be conceded by all that the rights and needs of those that live by it should be faithfully represented. The question, therefore, of direct representation of labour is of no ordinary importance to the various trades associations of this and the neighbouring colonies. It is also a principle which if wisely used will yet play an important part in the political history of Australia, for after all the masses are the arbiters of their own

destiny, their fate is in their own hands, especially when they rise above petty considerations which very often are successfully used by their opponents against them, the consequences being that Labour and its interests are divided. In considering the question we must bear in mind that legislative power and government is, after all, only the means to an end, and that end is the well-being, both socially and politically, of the people; the greatest good to the greatest number should be the maxim of those who have the interests of the colony at heart. No Government should embody partial interests whether it be in monopolies, castes, or classes, but the general welfare of the community. . . . In considering the question of direct representation, an important point arises, namely, the power of trades councils to deal with political subjects. Some there are who contend that it is outside the functions of such bodies to deal with matters of political import, and yet many of them are members of bodies that habitually do so, and yet after all this is not to be regretted, for the interests of Labour in some shape or form are bound up with political questions of the hour, and those who have thoughtfully considered the matter will realise that it is almost impossible to steer clear of them. . . . We say . . . that a more active part should be taken in political movements, for therein is the lifeblood and the power of the masses. . . . Recently in Victoria an attempt was made to run candidates in the interests of Labour, and although polling well none obtained a seat, and it fully demonstrated the fact that working men are their own enemies. While they cry for better representation in the councils of the State, so that taxation and other matters may be equally distributed, when the opportunity is afforded they allow themselves to be divided by questions of creed and nationality, personal pique, and petty jealousy, the result being that their best interests are sold to these things. . . . Let trades unionists take these lessons to heart, and be true to themselves and their order, sink their little jealousies, and as sure as the sun rises and sets, and day follows night, 'direct representation' will yet come. The justice of it was not admitted in England until after many years of agitation, and the same course of events seems to be prevailing here. . . . Land, commerce, and capital are all cared for in our Legislative assemblies, but Labour,

the source of all wealth, is only fought for as Labour should be outside that body; and yet laws are made and taxation imposed, which may either ruin or raise those trades on whose existence scores of thousands of labouring families depend. For these reasons alone direct representation of Labour is both just and necessary."

The motion in favour of direct representation of Labour was supported by Mr. Williams, Miners of Australia; Mr. P. Stokes, Builders' Labourers of S.A.; Mr. J. A. Mansfield, Fed. Seamen's Union of Victoria; Mr. C. Hannagan, Auckland Branch, Seamen's Union; Mr. R. W. Gibson, Engineers of S.A.; Mr. J. V. Wiley, Trades and Labour Council of N.S.W.; Mr. T. Kean, Saddlers' Society of S.A.; Mr. W. A. Trenwith, Melbourne Trades Hall Council; Mr. R. Hayes, Victorian Saddlers' Union; Mr. J. B. Clayton, Engineers' Society, Port Adelaide; Mr. J. B. Tucker, Melbourne Wharf Labourers' Union; Mr. J. W. Spurr, Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants of S.A.; Mr. H. A. Harwood, Furniture Trades' Society of Victoria; Mr. G. Jordan, Typographical Society of Victoria; Mr. R. Hannan, Trades and Labour Council of S.A.; Mr. J. Petterson, Typographical Society; Mr. Fergusson, Boilermakers' Society of N.S.W.; Mr. J. F. Donnell, Port Adelaide Working Men's Society; Mr. E. Phair, Queensland European Protection Society, Mr. G. Day, Enginemen's Association of S.A.; and Mr. J. Cooper, Ironmoulders' Association of S.A.

At this congress there was only one discordant ~~note~~ note. Mr. G. W. Pope (Coachmakers' Society) said he thought Mr. Kirkpatrick had not fully proved the necessity of payment of members. Because one body neglected its duty did not prove that another and differently constituted body would do any better. . . . He had never heard that in the American Congress there were any or many Labour members. (Hear, Hear). He did not oppose the payment of members; neither did he think it would do any good. It could not have altered the course of legislation in the past, and we should do no better and no worse with or without it. He did not think they could take men from the bench or the field and place them in the Legislature for one session, and then expect them to return to their trade. (~~Hear, Hear~~ "How about Joseph Arch?") They would find means to employ themselves in their new sphere. They would spoil a good craftsman to make a bad legislator. (A member--"Fudge.") That was his opinion.

The motion was carried with only one dissentient. This was in 1886, but it was not until 1891, five years later, that the first actual Labour members were elected to the South Australian Parliament.

It is apparent from the debate mentioned above that the idea of having direct Labor representation was merely to have a few members in Parliament to voice the interests of Labour. The thought that Labour might come into power and form a Ministry of its own had not dawned upon the trades union movement at that stage, ~~just one generation ago, so quickly have events moved during the last forty years.~~

The Hon. A. A. Kirkpatrick, who led the debate on "Direct Representation of Labour," was born in London in 1848. He went to work when he was nine years of age. He came to South Australia in 1860. In 1891, along with Messrs. D. M. Charleston and R. S. Guthrie, he was elected to the Legislative Council of South Australia for the Southern district, Messrs. Charleston and Guthrie representing the Central district, these three being the first direct representatives of "about in South Australia. He was defeated in 1897, and elected for the Central district in 1900. Mr. Kirkpatrick was Chief Secretary in the Price Administration from 1905 until 1909, when he became Agent-General in London. Mr. Kirkpatrick is still a member of the South Australian Legislative Council.

CHAPTER IV.

FROM 1886 TO 1890--THE GROWTH OF TRADES UNIONISM.

Dr. H. Heaton, M.A., M.Com., in "Modern Economic History," says that the history of Australian Labour can be divided into three epochs. The first, he says, ranges from the establishment of Sydney in 1788 to the gold discoveries of 1851. The second period extended from the gold rush to the industrial disturbances of 1890-1894, while the third ~~period~~ epoch extended from the industrial disputes and general depression of the early nineties up to the present day. The second epoch mentioned by Dr. Heaton must, however, be definitely divided into two periods. From the gold rush period to the foundation of the Trades and Labour Councils in the various colonies between 1880 and 1884, represents a stage in which there was a steady growth of independent trades unionism, while the latter half of that period represents the time during which the Trades and Labour Councils began to act as a cohesive force in the Labour movement, unit^{ing} the several organisations together, and paving the way for the coming of the political Labour movement. In South Australia~~in~~ in particular the period from 1886 to 1890 was one of remarkable progress in the industrial Labour movement, and was also a period of very interesting political developments.

In 1884 and 1885 the attendances at the council meetings varied from about five to 12 or 13. By 1888 the number of delegates began to assume large proportions, for on October 5 of that year there were 46 members present, and at the following meeting 34, the attendances generally being up to that standard. New delegates were being continually introduced, while new societies were being formed from time to time, gradually covering the whole sphere of Labour.

At a meeting of the council held on November 5, 1886, the committee appointed for the purpose "of considering a scheme for securing direct representation of Labour in Parliament presented its report, which recommended that funds be raised ~~on~~ from members of trades unions by a voluntary annual subscription of 1/ per member, the amount to be supplemented by subscriptions to be raised outside by members. The fund to be devoted to payment for lost time by members of trade organisations who might be nominated and returned to Parliament by subscribers." The report was dis-

cussed, and referred to the various societies for consideration.

What is probably the first Labour platform in South Australia was formulated by the Parliamentary Committee, and laid before the Trades and Labour Council on January 27, 1887, the minutes of that meeting reading--

The Parliamentary Committee reported that they had considered the platform to be adopted at the forthcoming general elections, and recommended those candidates who will support--

1. Payment of members.
2. Protection for protective, not revenue, purposes.
3. An increase of the present land tax.
4. The extension of the Employers' Liability Act to our merchant seamen.
5. The introduction of a factory and Workshops Act, and of a Mining on Private Property Act.

The support of the council was given to a number of candidates at the 1887 elections, including Messrs. C. C. Kingston, T. Scherk, A. A. Kirkpatrick, Solomon, Cohen, and Grayson.

As illustrating the growing importance of the Trades and Labour Council in the eyes of the politicians prior to the formation of the distinct Labour Party, at a meeting of the Trades and Labour Council, held on June 3, 1887, a deputation, consisting of Messrs. Kingston, Grayson, and Cohen, M.S.P., and Messrs. Forward and Green, was introduced by the secretary, and cordially welcomed by the council. Mr. Kingston explained that the object of the deputation was to bring about concerted action between the council and a committee which had been formed, consisting of supporters of various protectionist candidates, who had been returned to Parliament, at the last election, with a view of supporting one or more candidates at the approaching elections for two members of the Central division of the Legislative Council. The matter was considered in council, in conjunction with a letter from Mr. Kirkpatrick, withdrawing his candidature, and from Mr. J. H. Angas asking for the support of the council, and explaining his views. After considerable discussion it was resolved, "That seeing the views of the candidates are so similar the council leaves the matter an open question."

During the years following the 1886 Trades Union Congress great

activity ~~was~~ took place in the formation of new trades unions and the development of existing ones, and the Trades and Labour Council steadily grew in numbers of delegates from organisations. On July 20, 1887, the chairman brought under notice the fact of a meeting of tram employes which was contemplated with the view of forming a union, and the council's support as asked for. The executive were appointed to represent the council at the meeting, and to render all assistance, the council thus taking definite steps towards the organisation and formation of trades unions.

At a meeting of the Trades and Labour Council on February 22, 1889, the Parliamentary Committee asked the council "to take into consideration the desirability of running a bona fide working man to contest the coming election at North Adelaide."

The genesis of boards of conciliation and arbitration appeared when a special meeting of the Trades and Labour Council was held on November 10, 1887, to consider the question of the establishment of boards of conciliation, and it was decided "That the council pledges itself to support any legitimate scheme having for its object the formation of a board of conciliation,"

During this period the early closing movement began to take definite shape. From 1886 to 1890 the agitation went on strenuously with its well-known slogan, "Shop before Six." The sympathy of the Trades and Labour Council was extended to the Early Closing Association in its efforts to induce people to shop in daylight, and to make the early closing of shops compulsory. After early closing had been conceded in the 90s, the Early Closing Association went out of existence. On January 11, 1889, it was unanimously decided, on the motion of Mr. Rogers, seconded by Mr. Charleston, "That the hearty thanks of the council be accorded to all those employers who had assisted the movement by consenting to close their establishments earlier, and that the congratulations of the council be accorded to the Early Closing Association upon their successful efforts."

The problem of coloured labour, especially that of Chinese, received much consideration, the following motion being carried at a meeting of the council on November 16, 1888, "That this council condemns the action of the Government in accepting the tender of a

Chinaman for the erection of telegraph lines and of iron poles following the line from Port Darwin to Pine Creek, in preference to a European, especially at this present juncture, when the colonies are legislating for the restriction of the Chinese." It was out of these discussions that the ideal of a White Australia was ultimately formulated and advocated as a fundamental part of Australian life, the causes of which historically are of a purely economic character.

CHAPTER V.

THE PRELUDE TO THE MARITIME STRIKE.

Before the maritime strike broke out the trades union movement had developed to such an extent that direct representation of Labour in Parliament was already becoming a burning question, while proposals for the establishment of a Labour press were numerous. In 1888 and 1889 several schemes for a Labour paper were placed before the Trades and Labour Council.

The great Labour upheavals, which culminated in the maritime strike, with its aftermath of the development of the political Labour movement, really began in Queensland, where, according to Dr. Heaton's "Modern Economic History," the squatters of the Darling Downs had resolved not to employ any trades unionists. Thereupon the Australian Labour Federation (the Queensland equivalent of the Trades and Labour Council) called upon the Waterside Workers to refuse to handle any non-union wool. This was in May, 1890.

On January 31, 1890, the South Australian Trades and Labour Council was already formulating a political programme. At that meeting ^dthe report of the Parliamentary Committee was read ~~says the minutes of this meeting.~~ It contained suggestions for a political platform, only a few of the items of which were dealt with. Some of these were amended, and the whole of them so far passed were as follows--

- "1. Protection for the purpose of encouraging local industries and for the further development of the resources of the colony.
- "2. Lien Bill on lines of the Queensland Bill.
- "3. Workshops and Factories Acts on lines of the New Zealand Bill
- "4. Payment of members.
- "5. Progressive tax on land values without exemption."

The Trades and Labour Council resolved on February 21, 1890 (vide minute book)--"That from now until the elections are over the whole council resolve itself into a Parliamentary Committee, to meet on Wednesday evenings." The candidature of Mr. R. E. E. Rogers, for East Torrens, and of Mr. D. M. Charleston, for Port Adelaide, were endorsed at that meeting. The consideration of the political platform was resumed, and the following items were adopted--"Tax on foreign bottoms; inspection of land boilers; free

education, with maintenance of the present standard; Absent Seamen's Voting Bill; reform of the Legislative Council, in the direction of manhood suffrage and shortening the term of election; working men's blocks and loans to blockers; Trades Hall site, or sum on estimates for that purpose; Eight Hours Bill; removal of duties from tea, coffee, cocoa, and kerosene; reciprocity treaty with Queensland."

A rather peculiar letter was received from Mr. R. E. E. Rogers on February 28, 1890, in declining to stand for East Torrens, in which he said he "thought it was better that the Labour Party should continue to drift along in its prosperous career rather than suffer the risk of defeat."

The New South Wales Trades and Labour Council wrote a letter to the Adelaide Council on March 7, 1890, intimating "that when replies had been received from Melbourne and Hobart, further particulars regarding the proposed federations of the Trades and Labour Councils of Australia would be forwarded."

The following three items were added to the political platform on March 7, 1890--Amendment of Railway Commissioner's Act, the establishment of a Department of Labour, and a Redistribution of Seats Bill. The platform was then finalised and adopted.

As an indication of the rapid growth of the trades union movement just prior to the maritime strike, the following extract from the report for the half-year ending August 1, 1890, of the Trades and Labour Council of South Australia is very interesting--

"So great has been the pressure of work that many important matters have had to be adjourned from time to time, and only on two occasions has the notice paper been cleared at one sitting. The number of societies affiliated since the last report has also greatly exceeded any previous record for a like period. This has, of course, been accompanied by a corresponding increase in the number of delegates. With the commencement of the half year the new rules came fully into operation, and on the whole have worked smoothly and well.

~~On the recommendation of the managing committee a new bylaw relating to the election of officers has been adopted, which reads as follows--~~
~~'That where there are \$\$\$\$ more than two candidates for any office the highest two shall be voted for a second time, the successful~~

candidate to be elected by an absolute majority of the council, and, if demanded, the voting shall be by ballot." During the half-year the following societies became affiliated—Adelaide, Suburban and Port Road Drivers' Association; South Australian Gas Company Employees' Association; Working Men's Trades Union of South Australia; Building Trades Council; Maritime Labour Council; United Tinsmiths and Ironplate Workers' Society; Port Augusta Branch Amalgamated Shearers' Union of Australasia; Adelaide Branch of Same; Adelaide Clickers' Society; Gawler Branch Amalgamated Society of Engineers; South Australian Tramway Employees' Association; South Australian Railway and Tramway Service Mutual Association; and the Port

Additional became affiliates
~~Adelaide Storemen's Association. This represents an increase of 13~~
 societies or a little over one-fourth of the entire council. As showing the growth of your council since 1886, it may be mentioned that the affiliated societies in that year numbered 19, this being also the number for the following year (1887); in 1888 the number was 20; in 1889, 23; in January, 1890, 29; and for the half-year ending to-night the number is 42. These are represented by 97 delegates as against 71 for the previous half-year. Assistance has been rendered by your executive and various members of the council in the formation of several new societies, and it is pleasing to know that they are making satisfactory progress, and in due time will no doubt apply also to become affiliated."

The half-yearly report of August, 1890, also contains the following, with reference to the Parliamentary Committee—"This committee now consists of the executive and nine members, and under the new rules is also invested with the powers of a managing committee, an arrangement which has been found to work very well. Considering the important functions of this committee it is desirable that members should endeavour to be present as often as possible, and if the business of the council continues to increase at its present rate its services will have to be more frequently called into use than has latterly been the case. At the suggestion of the Employers' Union a conference was held between the representatives of that body, the Shipowners' Association, the Maritime Labour Council, the Building Trades Council, and the Trades and Labour Council, to consider the representation of Port Adelaide at the then

ensuing elections. The difficulties of such an amalgamation in political matters, however, were fully recognised, and no action was taken. Over 40 letters were received and dealt with by the committee from candidates requesting the council's support at the late elections, and of the 20 selected 14 were returned. Although on the whole the Labour Party has been strengthened in the new Parliament your executive regret exceedingly that Labour has not been able to secure a direct representative, and they desire to urge upon the council the absolute necessity for the establishment of a Parliamentary elections fund to assist Labour candidates to enter Parliament. Your council are to be sincerely congratulated upon the fact that the Payment of Members Bill has now passed both Houses of our Legislature. As a proof that the object sought to be attained by the Bill has been successful, it may be mentioned that no less than 37 out of a total of 54 members have been returned as local candidates, as against 26 in the previous Parliament."

The trades union movement, it will be seen from the foregoing statement, was steadily growing in membership and influence right up to the time of the maritime strike. It was even nibbling at the question of obtaining one or more direct representatives in Parliament, and lived in the hope of one day seeing a bona fide working man sitting in the marble halls to legislate on behalf of the people.

CHAPTER VI.

THE MARITIME STRIKE.

While the leaders in South Australia were considering the probabilities of obtaining a direct representative of Labour in Parliament, the gathering storm clouds burst in all their fury in the other States. ~~The deluge came, and Labour awoke in no uncertain manner.~~ The trouble commenced in Queensland in May, 1890, with a shearing dispute, and, following that, the maritime strike broke out. One of the best studies of this period is to be found in "Modern Economic History," by Dr. H. Heaton, M.A., M.Com., D.Litt., from whose account the following extracts are taken--

"On August 8, 1890, the Wharf Labourers' Union, which in June had made a twelve months agreement with the shipowners, wrote to state that no non-union wool would be handled, and the employers thereupon replied that they had now no alternative but to make their own arrangements for labour, and would do so regardless whether the labour was union or not."

"Spence," continues Dr. Heaton, "went to Sydney and secured promises of support from the seamen, wharf labourers, cooks, and stewards, and the Newcastle miners. A Labour Defence Committee was formed by gathering together representatives of the various unions concerned, and this committee met daily.

"The situation thus hardened, and both sides grew more determined to stand firm. Still there was no actual outbreak of hostilities; non-union wool arrived in Sydney, but was not put forward for loading, and as the only ships likely to be affected were those which carried^r wool, i.e., the overseas vessels, there was still a possibility that some compromise might be found.

"Then the match was struck by the marine officers, and in a few days the conflagration spread like a bush fire. The shipowners learnt officially that the officers were affiliated with the Melbourne Trades Hall Council. This information brought forth the demand that the affiliation should be withdrawn, and that in the interests of discipline the officers should renounce any claim to affiliation with any other labour body. . . . The officers regarded this as an attempt to limit their freedom of corporate action, gave an emphatic negative to the demand, and on August 16 left their ships

in Sydney. The stand taken by the officers was supported by all the maritime unions except the marine engineers, and when a boat manned by make-shift officers tried to sail from Sydney on the 18th, the wharf labourers, seamen, cooks, and stewards all came out. The employers at once advertised for labourers and crew; a scratch team was secured, and thanks to the action of the engineers, was able to make its way to Newcastle for coal. On arrival, some of the miners at the pit from which the coal was to be supplied, downed tools. The mine-owners regarded this as a breach of the 1888 agreement, and as the miners had intimated their intention of standing by the Sydney strikers, the owners closed down the whole of the mines. Thus the trouble spread, and by the beginning of September had affected all the Australian States and involved New Zealand. An Intercolonial Conference was assembled in Sydney, containing representatives from Melbourne, Adelaide, Brisbane, Broken Hill, and Sydney.

"With the strike in full swing, the temper on each side grew harder. A free labour bureau was established in Sydney, and men who took work were promised permanent jobs. The Sydney and Melbourne shipowners met in conference at Albury on August 23, and determined to carry on their business 'clear of these tyrannical labour organisations.' The stevedores posted a notice on the wharfs intimating 'that for the future all men working for us will be expected to do such work on such terms and arrangements as may be required by us,' On September 10 to 13 an intercolonial conference of employers gathered in Sydney, reaffirming in the strongest terms the principle of freedom of contract, denied the right of the marine officers to affiliate with other bodies, and then, with delightful inconsistency, resolved 'that it is desirable to encourage employers to join existing employers' unions, and form other unions where necessary for mutual protection and defence, that such unions form federal councils for each colony, and that all such federal councils be affiliated and confederated.'

"Meanwhile on the labour side a surprising sense of solidarity was manifested, and the Defence Committee had the utmost difficulty in preventing such bodies as the butchers' and gasworkers' unions from coming out. Nearly 30,000 men were on strike in the different

colonies, and those who remained at work subscribed liberally to the strike funds."

Despite its colossal proportions, the maritime strike was a failure from an industrial standpoint, although it laid the foundations of trade union solidarity. Its political consequences, however, were tremendous, and resulted in the birth of the Political Labour Party throughout Australia. This sketch of the maritime strike would be incomplete without a reference to its effect on the relations between the Adelaide Trades and Labour Council and the S.A. Employers' Federation, as indicating the great change that was being brought about. The following is from the half-yearly report of the Trades and Labour Council of August 7, 1891, signed by Mr. J. A. McPherson, secretary--

"Before concluding my report I think it is only right that some slight reference should be made to the fourth annual report of the General Employers' Union of South Australia, together with some of the statements made at a meeting of the body held on Thursday evening, July 30. In moving the adoption of the report and balance sheet Mr. A. J. Harrold (president of the General Employers' Union) spoke as follows--'When they considered the progress of labour unions there was no use trying to crush them in any shape or form, and he trusted they would not try to crush them--(hear, Hear)--but it was their duty to combat unfair efforts made against employers. It was right for all free men to combine for proper motives, and as long as it was not against the law of the land, and provided they did not take cause against any one class of individuals contrary to their benefit and welfare, or that they did not intimidate or endeavour to intimidate any class opposed to their own way of thinking. Labour unions were not to be cried down in any shape or form, as they were capable of much good. Employers had found it in many cases in the past advantageous to confer with responsible executives representing men in particular trades. Particularly in the early part of last year they found it advantageous to settle disputes through the Trades and Labour Council. (Hear, Hear.) If that was all the labour unions had done, employers could not have anything to say against them; but unfortunately through their power in some cases labour unions had though fit to dictate as to what

course employers should adopt.' Now, how does Mr. Harrold reconcile this statement with his proceedings last Christmas twelve months. He then in his official capacity as president of the Employers' Union invited the executive of the Trades and Labour Council to meet the executive of the Employers' Union in conference. The invitation was accepted, and Messrs. Charleston, Buttery, and Robinson attended on behalf of the council. At that conference Mr. Harrold proposed that the unions should not only refuse to work with non-union men, but, moreover, that they should refuse to work for employers who were not members of the Employers' Union. This statement he repeated in substance later on at a complimentary social tendered to Mr. Robinson (the late secretary of the council), and we assert that any action taken by the labour unions in the direction indicated was entirely due to the propositions made by Mr. Harrold, as president of the Employers' Union of South Australia. It was not until June of last year that the maritime unions of Port Adelaide took any action with regard to the matter whatever, at which time a notice was issued intimating that after the 1st of August they would refuse to work with non-unionists, and the men in the employ of Messrs. Harrold Bors. were likewise notified by their employer that they must become members of some union, thus clearly proving that Mr. Harrold was himself prepared at that time to act in the same direction. It would be interesting to know what the members of the Employers' Union must think of freedom of contract as Mr. Harrold then understood it. This council claims to have endeavoured to carry out its part of the agreement. Let us see how the Employers' Union carried out their. I will again quote from the report--'A special general meeting was held on August 22, when it was unanimously decided to support the Steamship Owners' Association of Australasia in the Maritime Strike which was then threatening.' This action, be it remembered, was taken without any intimation having been given by the Employers' Union to the Trades and Labour Council of any intention to break up the then existing arrangement between the two bodies. Up to that time the unions of South Australia had taken no action whatever, and it was not until after two meetings had been held by the Employers' Union, at which resolutions of sympathy and pledges of support were passed, that this council took

any decisive action. It will be remembered that on the occasion of the eight hours' anniversary, Messrs. Harrold and Scott, speaking at the luncheon with reference to the dispute which was then in progress, said that the matter could not be settled in South Australia. Mr. Buttery, who was then president of the council, in reply said that we did not know what we could do until we tried, and reminded them that the executive of the council were prepared to meet the executive of the Employers' Union at four hours' notice, and at their convenience, for the purpose of making an attempt to settle the difficulty so far as South Australia was concerned. At a subsequent interview Mr. Buttery made the same offer on behalf of his executive to Mr. Harrold and other members of the Employers' Union, but the offer was again declined on the ground that they had no power to settle the difficulty. How is ~~\$\$\$~~ this for freedom of contract, when they as employers were prohibited by their affiliation with kindred associations in the other colonies from making amicable arrangements with their employes. We claim that we were not the first to take up the cudgels, for as a matter of fact we were forced into the position through the hasty and what we considered to be the ill-advised action on the part of the Employers' Union of South Australia, and which can only be characterised as a breach of faith with this council. So far as the principle of freedom of contract is concerned, it seems remarkably strange that we have been unable hitherto to get anything like a definition of the term as understood by the employers until, as Mr. Harrold said, it was partly defined at a meeting of employers held in Sydney on June 11 of this year. Is it surprising then that we, as employes, were reluctant to agree to freedom of contract when the employers themselves have taken nine months to agree to a definition of the term? I need only refer to the recent settlement between the pastoralists and the Shearers' Union of Australia (a settlement which might have been arrived at months ago had the pastoralists been willing) to prove that the employes have always been prepared to agree to anything that could be clearly understood, and which is based upon equity and justice. Speaking at the meeting above referred to, Mr. Hamblin said he considered that the fight between the employers and employes was not yet over, as in his opinion during the next few years there would be

as much trouble as here had been in the past. If the employers of South Australia fear trouble, it is their own fault for not agreeing to a conference at the conclusion of the late Maritime Strike. One of the last acts of the South Australian committee of control was to forward to the executive of the Employers' Union a proposition for a conference to make arrangements for a settlement which should continue in force for a period of years to be decided on, thus affording security to employers, better chances of permanent employment to employes, and ensuring peace and prosperity to the community. This proposition the Employers' Union thought fit to reject, and should trouble arise, as Mr. Hamblin anticipates it will, we consider that the whole of the blame will rest upon the Employers' Union, and not upon the labour bodies. In conclusion, your executive beg to tender you their hearty thanks for the uniform courtesy shown them during their term of office and sincerely trust that the coming half-year will prove even more prosperous than the past."

CHAPTER VII.

THE BIRTH OF THE POLITICAL LABOUR PARTY.

Just prior to the Maritime Strike an effort was made to arrange for the running of candidates for Parliament in South Australia under the combined auspices of the Employers' Union and the Trades and Labour Council. The political platform under which such candidates were to run was one of protection for local industries, combined with what became known as the "Free Breakfast Table"--i.e., the removal of duties on sugar, tea, and other household goods, including kerosine, the object being to build up industries and at the same time ^{reduce} ~~the~~ the cost of living.

Theoretically such a combination would have been of tremendous advantage if both sides had been prepared to offer mutual concessions and were prepared to honourably abide by the consequences. For instance, the recognition of trades unionism by the employers as a body, including preference to unionists, and the concession of fair wages and decent working conditions on the one hand, while on the other hand the universal adoption by the workers of the idea of giving a fair day's work as a necessary ~~consequence~~ ^{would enable} outcome of the concessions granted by the employers, both sides bending to the mutual task of production and distribution instead of fighting each other. To Parliament they would send representatives pledged to support the mutual demands of both sides to the agreement. This would have provided the possibility of a new state of society conducted on quite novel lines, both sides of the industrial community working together for the interests of all. Proposals for such a condition were being made prior to the Maritime Strike. That strike, however, caused many upheavals, and the first rift in the lute came when the Employers' Union took a hostile attitude to the trades unions of South Australia, under the influence of events connected with the Maritime Strike which took place in the other colonies. In addition, the speech of Colonel Price in Victoria to the soldiers drawn up in the vicinity of a strike meeting, in which he told them to "Fire low and lay them out." sent a thrill of horror through the workers of Australia; and, with the collapse of the Maritime Strike soon after, the cry for direct political action on the part of Labour increased in volume, and everywhere in Australia after 1890 direct

Labour candidates stood for the various Parliaments.

Prior to the formation of the United Labour Party, the Trades and Labour Council endeavoured to run the political side ~~\$\$\$~~ of the movement on its own account, and issued the following circular on March 10, 1890--

"To the Labour Organisations of South Australia, from the United Trades and Labour Council--

"In view of the near approach of the general elections and the necessity for more strenuous endeavours being made to increase the numbers of direct Labour representatives, the Trades and Labour Council are desirous of calling the attention of societies to the desirability of a fund being at once established for the purpose of assisting approved Labour candidates to enter Parliament, and strongly recommends immediate action in this matter. The immense advantages of having men elected from amongst our organisations who are competent to intelligently discuss questions affecting our interests and the future welfare of our class have been warmly advocated by our Trades Congresses. The Council therefore feel that too much stress cannot be laid upon the importance of possessing such a fund if the working classes are to be well and truly represented in Parliament, and with this object in view they cordially invite the practical support and co-operation of all Trades and Labour organisations. The fund will be known as the Parliamentary Elections Fund, and be devoted exclusively to furthering the candidature of Labour nominees.

"Donations will be gladly received from the societies, from individual members, or from friends outside our organisations who are in sympathy with this object, and may be sent to the financial secretary to the council (Mr. R. S. Guthrie), Selborne Hotel, Pirie Street.

"The Council would also direct attention to the Political Platform adopted for the coming elections, and would respectfully ask your valuable assistance and influence in trying to secure the return of candidates favourable to carrying out the objects stated therein. It is as follows--Protection, for the purpose of encouraging local industries and the further development of the resources of the colony. Lien Bill, on the lines of the Queensland Bill. Workshops and Factories Act, on the lines of the New Zealand Act.

Payment of Members. Progressive tax on land values, without exemption. Tax on goods and passengers carried intercolonially on foreign vessels. Inspection of land boilers. Free education, with maintenance of the present standard. Absent Seamen's Voting Bill. Reform of the Legislative Council in the direction of manhood suffrage and shortening the term of election. Working men's blocks and loans to blockers. Trades Hall site, or sum on estimates for that purpose. Eight Hours Bill. Removal of duties from tea, cocoa coffee and kerosine. Reciprocity treaty with Queensland. Against free and assisted immigration. Amendment of the Railway Commissioners Act. The establishment of a Department of Labour. Redistribution of Seats Bill.--(Signed) J. A. McPherson, Secretary Trades and Labour Council, March 10, 1890."

The original circular calling the first meeting in connection with the formation of the United Labour Party reads as follows--

"UNITED TRADES AND LABOUR COUNCIL OF S.A.

Trades Council Chambers,

Pirie Street,

Adelaide, 20th December, 1890.

"To the Secretary

"Dear Sir--I have the honour by direction of the above council, to invite the executive of your society to attend a meeting to be held at the Selborne Hotel, Pirie street, on Wednesday evening, January 7, at 8 o'clock, for the purpose of taking into consideration the best means to be adopted in order to bring about unity of action so as to secure the return of suitable Labour candidates at the forthcoming Legislative Council elections, which take place in April of next year.

"In view of the great importance of this matter, and the comparatively short period between now and the elections in which to carry out the work of organisation, the Council would esteem it a favour if your executive could kindly endeavour to make it convenient to be present at the above meeting, so that no time may be lost in carrying into effect whatever course of action may be decided upon.

"I am, sir, yours faithfully,

J. A. McPherson, Secretary.

After the above meeting had been held the following circular was sent round to the various organisations, with a request that "the press be not supplied with copies of the resolutions given below"--

"Re Legislative Council Elections.--Trades Council Chambers, Pirie street, 12th January, 1891.--To the secretary,--Dear Sir-- For the information of members of your society, I beg to inform you that, at the invitation of the United Trades and Labour Council, a large and representative meeting of executive officers, of the various Trades and Labour Societies and Working Men's Clubs in Adelaide, Port Adelaide and Suburbs was held at the Selborne Hotel on Wednesday evening, January 7, to consider the best means to be adopted so as to secure the return of direct Labour representatives at the forthcoming Legislative Council Elections, which take place in April next. Mr. G. H. Buttery (president of the Trades and Labour Council) was voted to the chair, and the following resolutions were carried, viz.--

"1. That in the opinion of this meeting it is desirable that direct Labour representatives be selected to contest the forthcoming Legislative Council elections.

"2. That in the opinion of this meeting it is desirable that two candidates be nominated for the Central District and one for the Southern District, and that negotiations be opened up with the Northern and North-Eastern Districts with the view of similar action being taken in those districts.

"3. That this meeting proceed to nominate gentlemen as suitable candidates, and that their names be submitted to the various Trades and Labour Societies and Working Men's Clubs for selection, such Societies and Working Men's Clubs to have power to add to the list of nominations, which nominations must be forwarded to the Secretary of the Trades and Labour Council not later than the 28th day of January.

"4. That this meeting recommends that the mode of selecting candidates be by cumulative vote of the whole of the members of the various Trades and Labour Societies and Working Men's Clubs.

"5. That this meeting recommends that each society and club contribute the sum of sixpence per member towards an election fund.

"6. That the secretaries of the Maritime Labour Council, the Building Trades Council, the Iron Trades Council, the S.A. Democratic Club, the S.A. Allg. Deutscher Verein, and the N.A. Working Men's Social and Patriotic Association be a committee to act in conjunction with the Parliamentary Committee of the Trades and Labour Council in this matter."

The circular added that in accordance with resolution 3, Messrs. D. M. Charleston, A. A. Kirkpatrick, P. Stokes, F. Hourigan, and Franke had been nominated at that meeting, and trusting "that your society will heartily co-operate in carrying this movement to a successful issue, a movement which past experience has proved to be absolutely necessary in order to break the power at present possessed by squatters, capitalists, and monopolists of every kind in our halls of Legislature."

At the elections Messrs. Guthrie, Kirkpatrick, and Charleston were successful, being the first three Labour candidates ever elected to the South Australian Parliament.

The following circular was issued on July 11, 1891, from the Trades Council office--

"I have the honour by instructions to inform ~~you~~ you that a meeting of executive officers of the various trades and labour societies and kindred associations was held at the Selborne Hotel on July 2 for the purpose of arranging for the selection of candidates at an early a date as possible, and also the consideration of various matters affecting the well-being of the United Labour Party. For the purpose of carrying out the large amount of organising work, it was resolved to create the Legislative Council Elections Committee, into a Permanent Parliamentary and Vigilance Committee, whose duty it will be to consider and report from time to time on all matters affecting the interests of the party."

A lecture was delivered by Mr. E. L. Batchelor, M.P., at the Adelaide Democratic Club, on March 5, 1895, on "The Labour Party and Its Progress," dealing with the party from its inception up to the date of the lecture. The lecture was printed in pamphlet form, and the writer was fortunate in being able to find a very much worn copy among some old papers. Mr. Batchelor, in the course of his address, said--"In the closing months of 1890, just after the

collapse of the Maritime Strike, the Trades and Labour Council sent invitations to the executive officers of all Labour organisations then existing in or near Adelaide to attend a meeting at the Selborne Hotel, in order to take steps towards placing direct representatives of Labour into Parliament. The result of that meeting was the formation of the United Labour Party of South Australia, a party destined from that day forward, for good or ill, to exert a large influence upon the political and social life of the people of this colony. The meetings held were very largely attended, and the greatest enthusiasm prevailed, Veterans, who had grown grey in promoting the cause of Labour, and youthful enthusiasts eager to battle for the same cause, were present. A political platform was drawn up setting forth the direction in which legislation was desirable, and a strong and thoroughly representative executive committee was appointed to carry out details. The plebiscite resulted in the selection of Messrs. Charleston, Kirkpatrick, and Guthrie as the first representatives of organised Labour. The hustings campaign, election day, the triumphant return of the three candidates, the declaration of the result of the poll are all too fresh in your memories to need reference, but though four eventful years have passed, and Labour has gained some notable victories since, it is still impossible to recall without a feeling of elation the stirring scenes which marked the election of 1891, the first great Labour triumph in South Australia, and the awakening of the masses of the people to a sense of their political rights and responsibilities. That the awakening was not transitory, but genuine and widespread, was shown a few months later by the election, with a large majority, of Mr. R. Hooper, a working miner, to represent the district of Wallaroo, where a vacancy had arisen through the death of Mr. David Bews, and by the triumphant success of Mr. J. A. McPherson, in East Adelaide, over the strongest candidate in the Conservative ranks-- Mr. G. S. Fowler--at the by-election of 1892.

"During the interval between the East Adelaide election and the general election of 1893, another plebiscite was taken and fifteen candidates selected. The platform of the party was also revised, and the first definition of the qualification for a Labour candidate was adopted. Up to this time it had not been considered necessary

to have any precise definition, the term "direct Labour representative" having a sufficiently distinct and well-understood meaning for practical purposes. Out of fifteen candidates selected at the plebiscite, nine were chosen to go to the poll, and eight of them were successful in obtaining seats in the Legislature, the ninth (Mr. Henry Adams) being defeated in a remarkably close contest. Mr. Adams was, however, in the following year returned at the top of the poll by a large majority for the Central District. In the country five local Labour candidates contested seats, and two of them--Messrs. Poynton and Hooper--were successful. Prior to that date, however, it had been resolved to alter the definition of a Labour candidate, the object being to allow members of the party who were not directly in the ranks of the workers (using the term in its narrow, conventional sense) to contest seats as Labour representatives. The new definition was tried as an experiment at the ensuing Upper House elections, and nominations were received and a ballot taken, with the result that Messrs. McGregor and Birks were selected to run with Mr. Adams and Mr. C. Proud. Messrs. Adams and McGregor were successful, Messrs. Birks and Proud being defeated. I have now brought the record of successes and defeats which the United Labour Party has sustained during the four years of its existence up to date. To sum up, seventeen seats have been contested with sixteen candidates, fourteen of whom are now (1895) in the Legislature, eight being in the House of Assembly and six in the Legislative Council. In addition country constituencies have returned two Labour representatives, which brings the total strength of the Party up to sixteen members. Such a record for four years' work is an evidence of success of which any party might well feel proud, but the bare figures give no indication of the most pleasing features in connection with the work of the United Labour Party. The absolutely gratuitous, whole-souled work done by all sections, from the highest executive officers to the canvassers on local sub-committees, is certainly without a parallel in South Australia, and it must not be forgotten that apart from the direct representatives selected and put forward by the party several Liberal candidates, whose political platforms were akin to ours, were indirectly supported, and owing to that support occupy seats in the Legislature."

CHAPTER VIII.

THE STORY OF THE LABOUR PRESS.

One of the most interesting phases in connection with the development of the Labour movement is the story of the Labour press. One of the outstanding features of the growth of the Labour press is the fact that while the Labour organisations have persistently asked for a press of their own, they have with equal persistency refused to accept the financial responsibilities involved in such enterprises. As a consequence, the Labour newspapers, denied the usual sources of revenue through advertising, have usually languished, not so much for lack of enthusiasm or even circulation, but for the lack of the necessary capital.

An offer was made to the Trades and Labour Council on January 14, 1887, of two pages space by Mr. J. Singer in a paper entitled "Our Commonwealth." It was decided that the two pages should have a separate title, namely, "The Trades Unionist," and that Mr. Kean should be the editor on behalf of the Council. It was further resolved "that the recommendations of the 1886 Trades Union Congress be taken as the basis for the policy to be adopted by the 'Trades Unionist.' The secretary was instructed to communicate with the various societies, recommending them to take up shares in the proprietary of the paper, and to assist in supporting the paper." In this humble way the first Labour paper in South Australia was launched. On April 7, 1887, the editor of the "Trades Unionist" (Mr. Kean) reported that owing to the scant support received from the societies, the proprietary of "Our Commonwealth" had decided to issue the paper only once a month until such time as things were more prosperous.

Towards the end of 1888 a strike broke out at the "Register" office, and as an outcome of this dispute the Trades and Labour Council endeavoured to float morning and evening daily papers, to be entitled "The Morning News" and "The Evening News." At a meeting of the Trades and Labour Council, held on February 6, 1889, the matter of the daily papers was considered. At this meeting Mr. Hutchinson stated that so far the venture had not been as successful as had been anticipated, through the want of interest and apathy shown by the trades unionists. H

He mentioned that the total number of shares applied for did not exceed 3000, and only a few had been taken up by members of trade organisations. He urged the meeting to formulate some scheme that would ensure the success of the undertaking. Messrs. McPherson, Wallis, and other members of the council followed in the same strain, and after a long discussion the following motion was carried--

"That the provisional directors be recommended to drop the idea of floating a morning and evening newspaper, to clear the way for some other practical scheme."

A further meeting of the council on February 16, 1889, discussed the matter, when Mr. Coneybeer reported that the directors had met and considered the resolutions of the previous meeting, and "regretted that they could not recommend this meeting to adopt any scheme for a morning and evening newspaper, and they were not prepared to issue a new prospectus without a guarantee from the council or the affiliated societies for the expenses likely to be incurred in the floating." It was ultimately decided "that in the opinion of this meeting it is desirable to establish an evening paper with 16,000 shares at 12/, 10/ to be paid on allotment," At a special meeting on February 15, 1889, the following resolution was carried--"That the secretary be instructed to write to the various societies asking if they were willing to bear a part of the preliminary expenses of floating an evening newspaper on the lines laid down in the resolution of the previous meeting." At a subsequent meeting, Mr. Hutchinson said that the Adelaide societies had done comparatively nothing, particularly as regards the floating of a newspaper company, and this in the face of distinct and enthusiastic promises of support. The proposals for Labour dailies, therefore, fell through owing to lack of support.

What actually did eventuate in the way of a Labour paper appeared on November 1, 1890, in the form of a demy-octavo eight page fortnightly magazine edited by Mr. J. Medway Day, and entitled "The Pioneer." It was about the size of an ordinary handbill, and was published in Adelaide in the interests of "Land and Labour" and stressed the single tax rather than the Labour point of view. But it was in reality the first attempt at the formation of a definite Labour paper, and from it originated all the other Labour papers

that have grown up in South Australia. An article which appeared in "The Pioneer" on March 7, ~~1891~~¹⁸⁹¹, dealt with the question of "Direct Labour Representation," in which it was stated that "telegraphic news from Europe and America supplied unmistakable signs of an immense revolution going on in the Labour world, a revolution in the thought and habits of the toilers that augurs well for their future well being. Everywhere the cry is for combined and aggressive action, and we see that the organisations are growing alike in number and extent, and it is but a question of time when the educated masses of workers, by their united endeavours, will overthrow the position now held by monopoly and privilege. Conscious of their grievances, the first thought as to remedies must lead the workers to take independently such steps as are necessary to gain possession of the machinery to remedy old time-worm abuses."

"The Pioneer" was enlarged on December 9, 1892, and changed its name to "The Voice." "The Voice" relegated single tax to one section of its columns, and went in more fully for the Labour questions. In the first number of "The Voice," published on December 9, 1892, an editorial article appeared under the heading of "Strikes and the Ballot Box," which goes on to say, "I am not now going to discuss the general question of strikes. . . . I wish rather to call the attention of all workers and all true reformers in this colony to the immediate duty that lies before them. They have been told for years that they should try by constitutional means to effect the improvements which they desire to bring about. In other words, they should make their power felt in the ballot box. Those who were foremost in that advice probably never expected that it would be acted upon. There was something like consternation when the Labour Party returned three representatives to the Legislative Council, and utter collapse was predicted if the Labour candidate were returned to fill the vacancy caused by Sir John Bray's resignation. He was returned, and Australia still survives. . . . Heavy bids will be made for the support of the Labour Party, to whom . . . three courses are open. It may sell itself to the highest bidder. It may resolve to remain a distinct political party, with its own platform and its own nominees, or it may unite itself with the party of progress and reform."

"The Voice" ceased publication on August 31, 1894, its goodwill

as a going concern being taken over by the first direct Labour paper to be started in South Australia, entitled "The Weekly Herald." In order to make a start with "The Weekly Herald" the Port Adelaide seamen's Union, in 1894, lent the committee who ~~had~~ were trying to establish the paper the sum of £100, free of interest. The first committee meeting of which records are kept was held at the Selborne Hotel on July 24, 1894. The Hon. A. A. Kirkpatrick, Messrs. H. Buttery, G. H. Buttery, Hourigan, Coneybeer, Bastard, D. Williams, Kiley, G. D. Williams, Barnes, McFie, Teakle, Brown, and Batchelor were present. On July 30 a communication was received from Mr. C. Proud, representing "The Voice" shareholders, and it was eventually decided on August 7, 1894, to take over "The Voice," and to call the new paper "The Weekly Herald," and the first issue appeared on October 12, 1894, and by November of that year the circulation had reached 5500 weekly. Mr. White, the first editor, resigned after a few months, and Mr. McPherson was appointed temporary editor until March, 1895, when Mr. Wedd was appointed to the position. The "Weekly Herald" was subsequently edited by Messrs. James Hutchinson, J. A. Adey, E. A. Roberts, and G. L. Burgoyne.

Having got the "Weekly Herald" established, the attention of the leaders of the Labour movement was directed towards the founding of a Labour daily newspaper. As far back as 1903 meetings were held with the object of turning the "Herald" into a daily, and on June 20, 1903, Messrs. Guthrie, Opie, Buttery, Ponder, Blizzard, Tannert, MacGillivray, Stroy, and Smeaton were chosen as a committee to set the matter going. A fund of £300 was raised, but it was not until March 7, 1910, that "The Daily Herald" became an accomplished fact. "The Daily Herald" was an ambitious project, but it was started without sufficient capital to make it a ~~successful~~ financial success. It was in reality launched hurriedly in order that the Labour Party might win a pending State election, and in this it succeeded admirably, the Labour Party gaining a great victory, but this did not help the ~~new~~ "Daily Herald" to obtain the much-needed capital.

The first editor of "The Daily Herald" was the late Mr. W. W. Wedd ("Remus"), with Mr. G. L. Burgoyne as associate editor. Mr. H. Kneebone succeeded Mr. Wedd in 1911, and resigned in 1912 to join

the High Commissioner's staff in London. Mr. Cam Pratt, an accomplished journalist, followed, and the paper maintained the fine standard in the year before the war, during which period eight to twelve pages were printed daily, with sixteen pages on Saturdays, the literary matter far exceeding that of any other local daily paper. The late Mr. E. H. Coombe succeeded Mr. Pratt. Mr. H. Kneebone took up the editorship on his return from London in 1916, just prior to the strenuous times connected with the conscription campaign, when the Labour Party was rent in twain, and has carried on the work ever since. Mr. W. MacLennan, the "Daily Herald" sub-editor, has been connected with the paper almost since its inception, and has been associated with daily Labour journalism longer than any other writer in Australia. Just prior to the war, in 1914, "The Daily Herald" was a paying concern, but the paper was hit very hard when war broke out, owing to the increasing costs of paper and supplies, paper going up from £11 to over £90 per ton. The paper struggled through the whole war period. Having weathered the war, the paper has struggled on with financial difficulties endeavouring to gain a foothold once more. Its position at the present time is precarious. A scheme for a "Chain of Labour Daily Papers" was launched by the 1921 ~~Interstate Labour~~ All-Australian Labour Conference, but it still remains to be seen whether the "Daily Herald" will survive long enough to take its place as one of the proposed chain. It must be borne in mind that "The Daily Herald" is a shareholding company, controlled by the trades unions, who are represented on the board, but neither owned nor financed by them, so that there exists no machinery for obtaining the necessary financial backing to meet any loss sustained through the publication of the paper.

CHAPTER IX.

LABOUR IN PARLIAMENT.

After the Maritime Strike, the objective of direct representation of Labour in Parliament was attained, and Labour became directly established in the Legislative halls. The age-long struggle of Labour for recognition (only once before attained in the history of the world, when the Gracchi became "Tribunes of the People" in Ancient Rome), had been accomplished, and Labour came to have a recognised place in Parliament. In a little work entitled "The People in Politics," originally designed by the late Mr. E. A. Roberts, M.H.R., assisted by his wife, and finally edited by Mr. T. H. Smeaton, some of the historical material connected with the South Australian Labour Party has been collected, and I am indebted to that work for some of the ~~most~~ matter contained in this chapter.

It must be remembered that the Labour Party did not, at first, come into existence as an organisation designed for political purposes. It is true that many of its members were keen politicians, who cherished strong political convictions, but until the year 1890 no step had been taken to secure special representation in Parliament of the class which the party principally comprised, and it is doubtful if it would have eventuated then but for the pressure of circumstances, and the suggestions of many people who were certainly as unfriendly, as they were much perturbed, when their cynically bestowed advice was most unexpectedly followed.

The deciding factor in the determination of the Labour Party to seek Parliamentary representation was undoubtedly the Maritime Strike of 1890. At the termination of that great industrial trouble the leaders of the Labour movement in the principal centres of industry in Australasia saw clearly that the time had come for the people whom they represented to state their own case and fight their own battles in the legislative halls of their country. It was borne in upon them by the logic of facts at this tragic period that it was not enough to have the advocacy in Parliament of sympathetic friends of their class, who, however good their intentions and praiseworthy their desires, yet lacked that personal contact with the conditions of the worker, which was absolutely necessary for a thorough under-

standing of their cause. Stimulated by that belief, and after much anxious debate at several specially called meetings, the Trades and Labour Council of South Australia eventually invited representatives of all Labour and Democratic Associations in the metropolitan area to meet with them and discuss the problem of the hour, and, if they saw fit, take steps to secure direct representation in Parliament for that section of the community to which they all belonged. The movement was hailed with enthusiasm, and meetings held in many centres of population were largely attended by workers and those in sympathy with them.

At the general elections in 1896 all the sitting members were again returned, and ~~\$\$\$~~ ^(a) in addition to them Mr. W. H. Carpenter, for the district of Encounter Bay, and Mr. E. A. Roberts, for the district of Gladstone.

It should be noted that at this time the Party comprised two classes of representatives, viz., those who were pledged and those who were equal in all party matters, but as the organisation at that time did not permit of active interference in many of the Parliamentary districts, those gentlemen who fought the battle for democracy practically unaided by the United Labour Party, were not pledged to it as were the others. The unpledged members of the party at that time were Messrs. Hooper, Poynton, and Roberts.

In the following year the Labour Party, and the cause of democracy generally, suffered a severe loss in the death of Mr. McPherson the first leader of the Parliamentary Labour Party, and the ever alert secretary of the movement, which he had done so much to organise and establish,

Mr. McPherson was held in high esteem by the public of South Australia, as well as by his more immediate associates. Practically unknown outside the sphere of unionism until called to the secretaryship of the United Labour Party, and only more widely known when he became the first direct member to represent it in the House of Assembly, it is not too much to say that his death was regarded as a public loss, as well as a calamity, by those with whom he was most associated. Mr. McPherson was a man of sterling worth, ringing true in every relationship, whether as father, friend, comrade or representative of his class. Untiring in the performance of what he con-

sidered to be his duty, he never spared himself any trouble or exertion, which might enable him to better fulfil it. His last message to the people for whom he had lived, and in whose service he died, has become a classic to his party, and, engraved upon his tombstone, it comes to us to-day, not as a voice from the dead, but from the living, "Tell the boys to pull together."

Mr. McPherson's seat was retained for the Labour Party by the election of Mr. Hutchinson as his successor, and Mr. E. L. Batchelor was selected to succeed him in the leadership of the party.

The whole of the Labour Party representation was again returned to the House of Assembly at the elections in 1899, with an additional unpledged member in the person of Mr. John Verran for the district of Wallaroo.

In 1901, Mr. Batchelor, who, with the consent of the party, had held a portfolio in Mr. Holder's Government as Minister of Education, became a candidate for the Federal Parliament, and his seat having to be resigned was, unfortunately, at that time lost to the party, although it was subsequently regained and has been held for it continuously ever since.

During the 1899-1902 Parliament, the constitution of the State was altered, and the membership of both Houses reduced, that of the Legislative Council from 24 to 18, and the Assembly from 54 to 42. Subsequent to the election of the first three Labour representatives to the Legislative Council, Mr. Charleston seceded ^{from} the party, but on April 15, 1893, Mr. W. A. Robinson was returned for the Central District at a bye-election, and in the following year, at the general elections, in May, Mr. Gregor McGregor was returned for the Southern District, but in May, 1900, he was returned again as a representative of the Central District, while, unfortunately, Mr. Robinson lost his seat on the same occasion. At the general elections in 1902, the representation of the party was again reduced, Mr. Adams failing to regain his seat, ^{but} ~~while~~ Messrs. Guthrie and Kirkpatrick succeeded in retaining theirs. But in 1903 the representation of the party was reduced to one, for on December 19 of that year Mr. Moulden, a Conservative, was elected to the seat vacated by Mr. Guthrie, when that gentleman was elected to the Commonwealth Parliament, and Mr. Kirkpatrick was left as the sole representative of the party in the

Legislative Council.

This state of affairs continued until the election of Mr. David Jelley on October 20, 1906, to fill the place rendered vacant by the death of Mr. Thompson; and this was followed three weeks later by the election of Mr. J. P. Wilson to Mr. Joseph Vardon's place, when that gentleman resigned to contest a seat for the Federal Parliament.

But the Hon. David Jelley did not live long enough to do more than prove to his colleagues his sterling qualities, for he died three months after his election. Mr. Jelley's seat was not lost to the party, Mr. F. S. Wallis being elected to fill the vacancy on March 2, 1907. The following year, however, saw a reduction of the small representation of the Labour Party in the Legislative Council, when, on the acceptance of the Agent-Generalship of the State in London by Mr. A. A. Kirkpatrick, Chief Secretary in the Price Administration, his seat was won by Mr. Theodore Bruce, a member of the Conservative Party.

At the general election held on April 2, 1910, Mr. J. P. Wilson was re-elected to the Legislative Council, and Mr. A. W. Styles and Mr. E. L. W. Klaur succeeded in capturing the other two seats which were then rendered vacant in the Central District, while at the general elections on February 10, 1912, Mr. F. S. Wallis regained his seat, and took with him as colleagues Messrs. J. H. Vaughan and J. Jelley, thus capturing for the Labour Party the whole of the seats for the Central District in the Legislative Council.

At the House of Assembly elections in 1902, when the provisions of the amended constitution became operative, the personnel of the party was ~~changed~~ altered and reduced in number. Some months prior to that event Mr. Frank Hourigan died, and his seat was lost to Labour, then at the general elections the seats which had been held by Messrs. Hooper, Hutchinson, and Carpenter were lost, and thus when Parliament met the representation consisted of one member of the United Labour Party in the Legislative Council, Hon. A. A. Kirkpatrick, and five in the House of Assembly, viz, Messrs. Price, Coneybeer, Archibald, MacGillivray, and Verran. In the third session of that Parliament, however, this was slightly altered by the death of Mr. A. B. Handyside, a Conservative, member for the district of Victoria and Albert, and his seat being won by Mr. W. Senior as the nominee of the United Labour Party, the personnel of the party was increased to six.

CHAPTER X.

LABOUR'S POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT.

During the currency of the Parliament of 1902-5 it became glaringly apparent that the administration of the supposedly Liberal-Jenkins-Butler Government was being dictated by the openly Conservative section of Parliamentarians led by Mr. John Darling, and as such a lapse from political rectitude seemed to be, for the time at least, abhorrent to a certain number of erstwhile Government supporters, these formed themselves into an Independent Liberal Party under the leadership of Mr. A. H. Peake, and entered into a compact with the Labour Party to oppose the Government at the ensuing elections. The compact included an agreement for the joint action of the parties in the event of them being successful at the polls, under the joint leadership of Mr. Price and Mr. Peake, with the important proviso that, whichever party was returned with the greater numerical strength, should have the reversion of the Premiership if the Government were defeated.

The elections of 1905 are memorable in the history of South Australia for the radical changes they effected in the representation and policy of the country. Conservatism seemed to realise for the first time that its supremacy as a directing force in the politics of the State was being challenged, and, with its back to the wall, it put up a strenuous fight for the maintenance of its privileges which the combined party were equally determined to destroy. In country and city alike the verdict was given against the Government, and when Parliament met, while Mr. Kirkpatrick stood alone as the representative of the Labour Party in the Legislative Council, 15 of its nominees were returned by the constituencies of the House of Assembly. ^{*Footnote.} These were--Adelaide, E. A. Roberts, W. D. Ponder, J. Z. Sellar; Port Adelaide, W. O. Archibald, I. MacGillivray, ~~H. Chesson~~; ^{H. Chesson.} Torrens, F. W. Coneybeer, T. Price, C. Vaughan, T. H. Smeaton, G. Dankel; Wallaroo, J. Verran, A. E. Winter; Stanley, C. Goode; Victoria and Albert, W. Senior.

The state of parties when Parliament met showed that the straight out Conservatives numbered 16, Ministerialists 2, and the Labour and Independent Liberals 24, giving the latter combination a majority of six on a challenging vote.

When the House met on Thursday, July 20, 1905, Mr. Price took the very earliest opportunity to carry the agreement of the combined parties into effect, and, after the formal business of the day was finished, moved, without any further notice of his desire to take the business out of the hands of the Government, that "The House do now adjourn." It is needless to say that the motion was carried, but the House--and indeed the whole country--was filled with astonishment when the Premier, Mr. (now Sir Richard) Butler, refused to obey its mandate, declaring that he would not resign until compelled to do so by a vote of no-confidence. The House met again on the following Tuesday, and again Mr. Price submitted and carried the simple motion for adjournment, and although Mr. Butler continued to declare his intention to remain in office until ejected in the usual way, wiser councils prevailed, and he reluctantly tendered the resignation of the Government.

On the following day, Wednesday, July 26, Mr. Price met the House as leader of the new Government, and thus for the first--but not the last--time in the history of South Australia the Labour Party stood behind a Premier of its own selection, who was one of its own members.

The years following this victory of the Labour Party were, politically, stormy and strenuous; and the fortunes of the Labour Party were affected by influences not always propitious. but how could it be otherwise with a party whose mission it was distinctly to revise and alter theories of government which have worked inequitably, and with prejudice, to the welfare of the class whom, in an especial manner, it is elected to represent? In pursuance of the programme for reform of the social and industrial conditions of the people which the party submits, no reverse has daunted the determination of its members to struggle on.

The first year of Mr. Price's premiership was made memorable by his appeal to the country on the question of the franchise for the Legislative Council. The policy of the Labour Party on that question was--and is--the eventual abolition of the second chamber; but as the party which followed Mr. Peake would only agree to its reform by reducing the property qualification on which it is elected from a rental value of £25 to £15, it was necessary, if any reform

at all was to be effected, for the Labour Party to temporarily agree to assist them. In consequence of the Legislative Council's refusal to assent to the Bill for its own reform which was sent to it by the House of Assembly on two occasions, Mr. Price obtained the Governor's consent to a dissolution of the latter chamber, and at the general elections which followed on November 3, 1906, it was gratifying to find that the country endorsed the action of the Government by returning all the members who supported its action, and in addition three more members of the Labour Party, ~~in the persons of~~ *Footnote* Mr. Donald Campbell, for the District of Victoria and Albert, Mr. Harry Jackson, for the District of Stanley, and Mr. John Newland, for the District of Burra.

On January 26, ~~1907~~ 1907, Mr. Reginald Pole Blundell was elected to fill the vacancy in the representation of the District of Adelaide caused by the death of Mr. J. Z. Sellar, and in the following year a gain to the ranks of the Labour Party in the House of Assembly was secured by the election of the late Mr. Tom Crush as a representative for the Northern Territory, to fill the vacancy created by the death of the Hon. V. L. Solomon.

The personnel of the party in the House of Assembly was changed in 1908 by the election of Mr. E. A. Anstey to fill the vacancy in the representation of the District of Adelaide, caused by the resignation of Mr. E. A. Roberts when that gentleman became a candidate for the Federal Parliament. The Labour Party had now 20 members in the House of Assembly.

In the closing session of the Parliament of 1906-10, occurred the death of the Premier, Mr. Price. Worn out in body by the untiring and splendid service he rendered to the State, he passed away on May 31, 1909, his death untimely, but his memory revered by the people who loved and trusted him. Mr. T. Ryan, another nominee of the Labour Party, was elected to the vacant seat on July 3, 1909.

The general elections in 1910 saw ^{another increase} ~~the high water mark~~ in the representation of the Labour Party in the House of Assembly, for on April 2 of that year, not only were all the members who sat there in the preceding Parliament returned, but two more accompanied them, in the persons of Mr. W. J. C. Cole, for the District of Stanley, and Lieut.-Col. the Hon. J. V. O'Loughlin, for the District of Flinders, thus giving the party a clear majority of two in a H

House of 42 members.

On the death of Mr. Price the compact between the two parties which supported his Government was summarily brought to an end, by the acceptance of Mr. Peake of the Premiership, offered to him by His Excellency the Governor, who, rightly knowing nothing of party compacts, followed the honoured custom and invited the second in command to assume the leadership on the death of his chief. As Mr. Peake's following only numbered eight in a House of 42 members, his hold on the reins of office was only secured to him by the precarious support of the Conservative section of the House, which had whole-souledly opposed him while in coalition with Mr. Price.

As the general elections in 1910 gave the Labour Party, supported by Mr. E. H. Coombe, the only remaining Independent Liberal, a working majority against the polyglot party which had thrown in its lot with Mr. Peake, a change of Government became inevitable, and for the first time that was possible an administration consisting entirely of members of the Labour party took up the reins of office, with Mr. John Verran as premier. The path trodden by the Verran Government was not at any time a smooth one; beset as it was by snares skilfully laid by its enemies, as well as by obstacles which were heedlessly cast there by its friends. The end came when on February 10, ~~1911~~ 1912, in fulfilment of his pledges, Mr. Verran appealed to the country on a question of the constitutional rights of the House of Assembly, and was defeated, not on the policy of the party, but on the fears of the people, which had been excited by the political combination that followed Mr. Peake.

The transfer of the Northern Territory to the Commonwealth lost both parties a member each, while the 1912 elections reduced the representatives of the Labour Party in the House of Assembly from 22 to 18, the seats of Messrs. T. Ryan, G. Dunkel, W. Senior, D. Campbell, J. Newland, and J. V. O'Loughlin being lost, while one was gained in the District of Wallaroo by the return of Mr. J. A. Southwood.

Then came the war, and with it the rending of the Labour Party into ~~two~~ two sections, one-half of which seceded altogether from the party and formed the Nationalist Party, as a result of the conscription issue, the bulk of the Parliamentarians favouring conscription,

while the bulk of the rank and file of the workers were anti-conscriptionists. The consequence was that the Parliamentary Labour Party became greatly diminished in numbers, and Nationalist-Liberal coalitions took over ~~the~~ the reins of Government.

My purpose has been to discuss the question ~~the question~~ as to how the industrial labour movement became a political movement, and I do not propose to deal in this essay with the history of the conscription question and the development of Nationalism in the South Australian Parliament. After the war the Nationalists were swept right out of the State Parliament, and the Liberal Party came into power under Mr. Peake, on whose death Mr. (now Sir Henry) Barwell became premier, while the Labour Party holds ~~about~~ approximately one-third of the seats, under Mr. John Gunn. During and after the war, however, the Labour Party was caught in the great reaction necessarily involved in the concentration of attention on international problems during the war, and on reconstruction after the war. ~~The future of the Labour Party~~

The following table is intended to show how the representation of Labour in the South Australian House of Assembly has fluctuated from the time when the first direct Labour member made his appearance in the House. x indicates General Election--

Year	Labour Members.	Others.	Total No. of Members.
1891	0	54	54
1892	1	53	54
x1893	8	46	54
x1896	11	43	54
1897	12	42	54
1898	13	41	54
x1899	11	43	54
1901	13	41	54
x1902	5	37	42
1904	6	36	42
x1905	15	27	42
x1906	20	22	42
1908	20	22	42
1909	20	22	42
x1910	22	20	42
x1912	18	22	40
x1915	26	20	46
x1918	17	29	46
x1921	15	31	46

CHAPTER XI.

LABOUR IN POWER.

When the trades unionists of South Australia set out to obtain direct representation in Parliament to voice the desires and look after the interests of the workers, they little dreamed that in a few short years after getting their first few representatives into Parliament their numbers would increase so rapidly and to such an extent that they would be swept along on the crest of the wave to complete victory, and that the reins of Government would fall into their hands. Yet that is the outstanding feature of the rise of the Labour Party in South Australia in particular and in Australia as a whole.

Despite the many excellent reforms, from the Labour point of view, carried out by the Labour Party when in power, the party very soon realised to the full the futility of attempting to carry out its programme of reform against the opposition of the Legislative Council, elected on a limited franchise. During the two years of the Verran Administration, says "The People in Politics," "legislation for the amelioration of industrial conditions carried in the House of Assembly, unflinching met with ignominious rejection in the Legislative Council," and undoubtedly the obstructive tactics of the Legislative Council have prevented the inauguration of many a reform advocated by the Labour Party, or so mutilated the Bills that they were useless when they became law.

Dealing with what the Labour Party has done, "The People in Politics" says--"A review of the period during which the South Australian Parliamentary Labour Party has been in existence, contains much that should cause every lover of Australia the most profound satisfaction. For, laying aside for the moment any thought of the things which have been attempted but not accomplished, and those other things that reveal weaknesses in party organisation which have militated against the achievement of successes that were well within its reach, there yet remains a splendid record of things done which, if they had not been done, would have left Australia and its people lagging where they now lead."

Among the things which the Labour Party has accomplished, or assisted in, is the enactment of some very wise and humane laws

laws, which would grace the statute book of any country in the world, and what the Labour Party has accomplished may or may not be an indication of its future possibilities should it ever succeed in obtaining a stable Government of its own. Labour in power has certainly never had an easy task ~~to carry~~ in the carrying out of its programme. It has lacked men of special ability when it needed them most. It has, however, accomplished a great deal, and though the list recorded below should not be regarded as a full record of its work, it will give some idea of the magnitude of the task which Labour in power set itself.

In its general platform the Labour Party in South Australia has assisted in carrying the following Bills--Adult Suffrage, 1894; Affiliation Law, 1898; Children's Protection, 1898-9, 1904; Coloured Alien Immigration Restriction, 1891, 1896 (latter was reserved for assent and shelved by the British Government), Consolidated Stock and Sinking Fund, 1896; Constitution Amendment, 1901; Electoral Code, 1896; Free Education, 1891; Health Act, 1898; Land Values Assessment (Part XIX.), 1893-4, 1900; Married Women's Protection and Property Acts, 1896 and 1898; Money Lenders' Act, 1903; Probate and Succession Duties, 1891-3; Progressive Land Values and Absentee Taxes 1894; Village Settlements, 1893, 1895, 1901; Education Act, 1905; Murray River Works, 1905 and 1910; Tramways Act, 1906; Constitution Amendment, 1907; Protection from Distress for Rent, 1907; Advance to Settlers, 1908; Licensing Amendment, 1908 and 1910; Metropolitan Abattoirs, 1908; Advances for Homes, 1910; South Eastern Drainage, 1910; Protection for Aborigines, 1910; Women Law Practitioners, 1911; Adelaide University, 1912.

Of the Labour Party's industrial platform the following Bills were passed--Conciliation, 1894 (largely inoperative owing to the absence of compulsory clauses); Early Closing, 1900, 1901, 1903, 1912; Factories Acts, 1894, 1900, 1904; Liens Act, 1893, 1896; Railway Appeal Board, 1903; Wages Attachment, 1898; Workmen's Compensation, 1900; 1904, 1911; Shearers' Accommodation, 1905; Factories Act, 1906, 1907, 1908, 1910; Scaffolding Act, 1907; and Steam Boilers' Inspection, 1912.

The Labour Party succeeded in passing the following planks of its mining, pastoral, and agricultural platform--Agricultural Hold-

ings, 1891 (compensation to tenant farmers for improvements); Closer Settlement (land repurchase), 1897, 1901, 1902; Crown Lands (known as Reduction of Rents Act), 1898; Butter Bonus, 1893; Exchange of Lands and Reduction of Rents, 1894; Fertilisers, 1894, 1898, 1900, 1903; Pastoral Lands, 1898; Seed Wheat Acts, (6); State Bank, 1895-6-7, 1901; State Export Department, 1893; Taxation Act Amendment, 1900 (reassessment of taxable values following reduction in rent or purchase money); Various amendments of Mining Acts, all tending to greater liberality and assisting legitimate mining on private and public lands; Vermin and Vermin Proof Fencing Acts (7); Working Men's Blocks and Loans to Blockers, Crown Lands, and Closer Settlement Acts; Reclaimed Swamp Lands, 1908; Regulation of Sale of Fertilisers, 1911.

Such a record of achievement is ~~very~~ remarkable, and would have been unparalleled in the world's history but for the fact that several other Australian States were advancing along similar lines, while the Labour Administrations in the Commonwealth were also engaged in carrying out many far-reaching reforms.

There were three phases of Labour's rapid rise to power. The first was when the workers struggled on alone, until they built up sufficient numbers to hold the balance of power in Parliament; the second phase came with the Coalitions, when they united with the Liberals to form Labour-Liberal or Liberal-Labour Administrations; the third phase came when the Labour Party was strong enough to stand alone, and then independents or men from the radical wing of the Liberal Party joined the Labour Party.

IS LABOUR CAPABLE OF GOVERNING?

The fact that Labour could, much to the astonishment of the world in general, and to its own surprise, after a few years of direct representation in Parliament, reach the goal and hold the reins of Government, was the outstanding feature of Australian political life in the first few years of the twentieth century. The possibility of Labour ever coming into power had seldom been seriously considered by mankind. We have to go back to the time of Aristotle, about 300 years B.C., for a philosophical discussion of the question as to whether the working man could ever rule. After discussing the matter from several angles, Aristotle decided that the possibility of Labour ever governing could not be seriously considered, on account of ~~the~~ "lop-sided" development. Men whose minds were bent on merely making a living by servile labour could never have sufficient understanding to govern a country. The democracies of ancient Greece were only democracies of the ruling class --the masses who did the work took no part in the Government; and in Sparta the ruling class had spies among the masses, and anyone who showed signs of discontent was promptly assassinated.

In South Australia, in the Commonwealth, and in every State of Australia with the exception of Victoria, Labour attained to the position of power through possessing majorities of members in the Houses of Parliament at various times during the last fifteen years. The question has therefore been answered, "Can Labour attain to power?" We have now to solve a more important question, "Is Labour capable of governing?"

Given a majority in both Houses of Parliament, can a Labour Administration really rise to the occasion, and govern the country as a true democracy in the interests of the whole of the people? That is the question we must ask ourselves. Before we can reach definite conclusions on that matter, there is another question that confronts us, and that is--Even supposing that there is a Labour Administration in the House of Assembly, what can it do with a hostile Legislative Council to obstruct all its reforms? In not one of the Australian States has there yet been a Labour majority in the State Upper Houses. In the Commonwealth Parliament, however,

there was a short period in which Labour held a majority in the Senate as well as in the House of Representatives, and during that period the Labour Party managed to pass some of its most cherished reforms.

There are many factors making for weakness in a Labour Administration. In the first place, when the Labour Party gets sufficiently strong to obtain the reins of power, it is confronted with the fact that it has in its ranks a considerable number of untried men, who, while they may have a great deal of native ability, are to a certain extent uneducated, and without any experience as administrators. Having worked all their lives under someone else's direction, it is very difficult for them to adjust themselves to the idea of individual responsibility, and to take the initiative in large concerns. Then, again, the emoluments of office, and the temptations held out to some of them to go against certain measures have a tendency to upset their equilibrium. It is sometimes difficult for a man, having risen out of the ranks of Labour, to realise that the masses have not risen out also. The man's views change as his social position changes, even though he represents Labour. A little story can best illustrate my point. On a dreadfully cold day a farmer's wife, who had been out in the cold, and felt freezing, rushed into the house, and told the servant to put the kettle on the fire, and make some tea for the men outside, as it was so cold. She then went inside and sat by the fire, but as soon as she had thawed, she said to the maid, "You needn't bother about that tea now, Mary; I feel quite warm." The point is, that we are all revolutionaries while the pressure is on ourselves, but we become conservatives when our own individual difficulties are surmounted. Nietzsche said there "was a realm where antitheses met." That is to say, it is only a matter of circumstances that make your extremist a revolutionary or a reactionary. If he is poor, he is a revolutionary; if he is rich, he is a reactionary, because his little mind cannot take in the wider field of the general good. One of the dangers of the Labour movement is that a leader's sympathies change with an alteration in his environment.

When the first Price Labour Administration came into power, they were at a loss for an Attorney-General, owing to having no

lawyer in the party, and the head of the Law Department had to be called in to act as Attorney-General. That is only one illustration of the difficulties with which a Labour Administration is faced.

The Labour movement rests primarily on four foundations--political, industrial, co-operative, and educational. Unless all four of these factors are operating, it will be almost impossible for Labour to develop an administration that will have the confidence of the whole of the people. It may be easy, under some great emotional stress, or some attempt at reaction by the opposing parties, for Labour to swing into power; but the test of the matter comes when Labour attempts to administer the country without adequate equipment. The Labour movement has not studied big problems with sufficient intensity, and it is through an understanding of these big problems that the movement will be judged when it endeavours to put its principles into practice.

Another factor of weakness when a Labour Administration comes into power is that the trades unions, individually and collectively, endeavour immediately to wring concessions of increased wages from the Government. When the first Watson Administration came into power in the Commonwealth, the trades unions arranged meetings and deputations galore asking for increased wages and concessions. This harassing of the new Labour Administration, while it was facing a galling criticism from its political opponents, both in and out of Parliament, was a tremendous strain for the members of the Labour Cabinet. The Labour Administration required time to get itself thoroughly acquainted with its work, and to bring about necessary reforms in their proper sequence. The desire for increased wages is in reality an economic fallacy if other related factors are ignored. The bulk of the workers have never been able to see that better conditions are infinitely preferable to the mere increase of wages, which has a tendency to defeat itself by the reaction on prices.

On the other hand, there is a point at which a Labour Administration stands in a much stronger position than an administration composed of Liberal or Conservative elements. A Liberal or Conservative Government runs the country in the interests of either the landholders or the commercial class. As long as the landholders are

having a good time, and the commercial community is busy, they do not worry much about the condition of the masses of the people. That dreadful disease, unemployment, is regarded merely as a factor in cheapening the cost of production by providing a reserve army of labour. A Labour Administration, on the other hand, has to do one of two things. It has either to run the country in the interests of the working class alone, or in the interests of the whole of the people. If it attempts the first proposition, it brings down upon itself all the various interests that are affected by its administration. It may tie up the commerce of the country by vexatious conditions, or it may dry up the overseas trade by increasing the cost of production beyond the possible selling price. In short, any one-sided administration must in the end defeat itself, and result in the triumph of the opposite party.

A Labour Government, however, that stands for the betterment of the whole of the people takes up a very strong position, and one which is almost impregnable. It says to the landholders that they must provide better conditions for all who work on the land; it says to the manufacturers that decent conditions must be provided in the factories; it makes provision by means of arbitration and conciliation for every worker; it provides protection for all industries, and sees that a fair day's work is done for a fair day's pay; it helps new industries to be established; it endeavours to solve the unemployed problem by the provision of public works of a remunerative character; and in innumerable ways it acts as a beneficent influence on the whole social system. It is sustained in this work by the high ideal of a new civilisation. There were times in the history of Labour Administration when in Australia when the second element seemed to be the dominating one, and much good resulted; there were times, also, when the other element came in, and great opposition developed against the Labour Party owing to the effects of its policy.

To sum up, if Labour is ever to return to power, and desires to retain the administration long enough to bring into operation the main reforms that it advocates, it must set to work to obtain a wider education and understanding of the problems involved, and it must have a deeper knowledge of economics. It must aim at an ad-

ministration in which the benefit of the country as a whole is the main consideration; it must have an agrarian policy, in which the interests of the farmer, the fruit-grower, and all workers on the land are mutually considered; it must also consider how, when goods are produced under proper conditions of labour, markets can be found for the product; it must also devise means to cheapen the cost of production without lowering wages. Attempts at socialisation that can be wrecked by a change of Government are doomed to failure; witness the sale of State brick works, woollen mills, &c., &c., as soon as a Labour Government goes out of power. The proper way to socialise is for the clothing trades union to start its own clothing factory, the building ~~guild~~ ^{trades unions} to run a building guild, and for the trades unions generally to develop the co-operative movement, and to prove by their own efforts that they are capable of running industries with their own money and their own resources. A Labour Government would merely encourage them to do this, and provide legal machinery to protect them in this work. The responsibility of running these industries would not then be on the State. The Labour movement, to successfully provide administrators to govern the country, must provide administrative experience for its leaders through its own activities, if it believes in the principles involved in the idea of socialisation.

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CONSTRUCTIVE SOCIALISM

Published 1913

A COMPREHENSIVE CONSTRUCTIVE POLICY FOR AUSTRALIA

No. I.

By Victor E. Kroemer (now on a World's Tour)



After having made a careful study of Labor politics and Socialistic principles for many years in various parts of Australia, principally South Australia and Victoria, I decided to launch out on a still larger study, and take in the whole world's movement towards social salvation. Therefore, on June 18, 1907, I sailed for Europe as delegate of the Australian and New Zealand Socialist Parties to the International Socialist Congress, held in Stuttgart, Germany, in the same year. There, as Australian representative on the International Socialist Bureau, I came into close contact with all the Socialist, Labor, and trade union leaders throughout the world—Bebel, the grand old man of German Socialism; the late Herr Singer; the mighty and eloquent Jaures, France's leader of the working classes; Vandervelder, Belgium's foremost exponent of Socialist principles; Hyndman, Quelch, and Macdonald, three of England's stalwarts; Victor Adler, Austria's leader; Hilquit, Simons, and De Leon, from the United States; and others too numerous to mention. Here were all ranged in conference the foremost thinkers of the mighty stirring impulse that is sweeping in a resistless tide throughout the entire world, at once a warning to this old world's rulers and a note of joy and hope for the masses of the nations, consolidating, moulding all into one comprehensive human brotherhood, uniting all in one solid fraternal comradeship, and ever moving onwards towards the goal of economic liberation and world-wide federation.

After the congress I spent five months in Germany working on a Socialist daily paper, the "Schwabischen Tagwacht," gaining a great insight into the methods of organisation, and wonderful genius of the German Social-Democratic Party. No praise is too great for the manner in which this wonderful party works, or the way in which the workers rally round the party, especially the support that is given to the Socialist daily press, the lifeblood of the movement.

From Germany I went to France, and in Paris I again made a comprehensive study of the Socialist movement there, which is an entirely different movement in many respects to that in Germany. In Germany the movement is peaceful, united, solid, and strong; in France, it is revolutionary, wild, turbulent, and split into warring factions; though nominally united, it lacks real solidarity.

Having learnt all I desired in France, I came over to England, and for the past four years I have been studying the English movement, gaining an acquaintance with the methods and ideas and progress of the stupendous English Labor movement, that is again very dissimilar to both the French and German movements, and working in an entirely different way. The English movement is strong, yet it has no press; it is clear-sighted, but not "revolutionary" in the French sense. The Englishman fights for concrete objects, not for abstract ideas or ideals. During all this time I have been accumulating ideas, facts, data, and experience, with my mind ever on the grand continent of Australia and her illimitable future, her marvellous possibilities for the establishment of a beneficent civilisation free from all the miseries and tyrannies of the older countries; lying far in the south, out of the way of the world's seething masses, yet destined, I believe, to point the way to the whole world by the establishment of a sane and constructive socialism, free from all the excrescences that have developed around the central ideas in Europe, the result of the play of capitalism, tyranny, and autocracy on the one hand, and of anarchy and violent revolutionary propaganda on the other. Between these two extremes there is the possibility of the establishment of a constructive system of enlightened socialism, based on justice, love, and brotherhood, uniting the masses of the people into one compact unity, led by the most enlightened and best men to the highest positions, organising industry on the basis of proper conditions of labor, the socialisation of the land and monopolies, the abolition of unemployment and poverty, and all other conditions that stand in the way of the masses living a full and

comprehensive grasp of Australian conditions, and the possibilities of its immediate future development. It must also be remembered that increasing prosperity will attract large numbers of workers to Australia from all parts of the world to share in that prosperity, thus necessitating a continual readjustment of the constructive machinery. Capitalism is based in the last analysis on unemployment—that is, on the idea of keeping an excess body of workers unemployed in order that they may act as a lever to reduce wages and increase the hours of labor. Now, in Australia the continual expansion of the country, the settling of new areas, and the discovery of new mines, &c., acts as a counteracting influence to that process, and by eliminating to a large extent the unemployed factor enables the worker to demand a larger wage and less hours of labor. On the other hand, the influx of new immigrants neutralises the expansive influence, or tends to do so. The reduction of the hours of labor tends to keep a larger body of workers employed, and therefore is a definite constructive method, while all attempts to increase wages immediately cause a rise in the price of goods, rents, &c., and do not necessarily provide more employment, but create a large army of unemployed, as increased prices cause the workers to send their daughters and younger sons out to work, thus creating a larger supply of labor and lessening the demand. By shortening the hours of labor a man is enabled to spend more time at home; he is enabled to take a small block of land and grow his own fruit and vegetables, keep a few fowls, &c., and in other ways increase his actual wages, help his womenfolk at home, and make life interesting generally. Also a larger number of workers are employed, unemployment is decreased, and trade develops owing to the increased amount of actual cash liberated for the purpose of obtaining manufactured goods, due to growing a proportion of his own foodstuffs. Obviously from this it is necessary that the workers should have their own houses and plots of land. In Australia there is plenty of land for the purpose, and a constructive Socialist policy would aim at getting at that land in the direction indicated.

Then there should be a continuous policy towards the expansion of the country in the opening up of new areas, the building of new railways, works of all kinds, the settlement of the land, &c. All of which, while being necessary and of utility in themselves, should be directed with the object of keeping all the workers busily engaged, thus eliminating unemployment and consequent reduction of the standard of life.

To effect this the whole Labor movement must be organised and consolidated on scientific principles; every man won to the side of Labor must be won for ever. This necessitates the inculcation of consistent support of the Labor newspapers as the very lifeblood of the movement, the payment of unemployed benefit by all trade unions in order to keep a man in the union and in close touch with the movement; and in every way federating all trades and professions into a compact body for the attainment of the ideal towards which Nature seems to be urging the whole of the world's populations. The unrest is universal, and it only waits for the development of a real, sound, constructive policy for the great and wonderful Labor movement to march consciously forward to the attainment of its cherished ideals—the right to live, to attain the fruits of one's labor, to unite all races in one brotherhood, and the establishment of a civilisation far in advance of anything yet attained by man. The late Mr. McPherson said on his deathbed—"Tell the boys to pull together," and it is only by this united effort that the Labor movement can elaborate and develop a constructive policy that will be worthy of the ideals of which the Labor and Socialist Parties are the progenitors, and reach the goal for which all are striving. In succeeding articles I will outline the constructive ideas on which the Australian Labor Party must develop if it is to win and retain the support of all enlightened and thinking people, and raise up the fabric of a new Commonwealth.

As the Labor movement comes into power in Australia, the following principles should be observed:

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study of the Socialist movement there, which is an entirely different movement in many respects to that in Germany. In Germany the movement is peaceful, united, solid, and strong; in France, it is revolutionary, wild, turbulent, and split into warring factions; though nominally united, it lacks real solidarity.

Having learnt all I desired in France, I came over to England, and for the past four years I have been studying the English movement, gaining an acquaintance with the methods and ideas and progress of the stupendous English Labor movement, that is again very dissimilar to both the French and German movements, and working in an entirely different way. The English movement is strong, yet it has no press; it is clear-sighted, but not "revolutionary" in the French sense. The Englishman fights for concrete objects, not for abstract ideas or ideals. During all this time I have been accumulating ideas, facts, data, and experience, with my mind ever on the grand continent of Australia and her illimitable future, her marvellous possibilities for the establishment of a beneficent civilisation free from all the miseries and tyrannies of the older countries; lying far in the south, out of the way of the world's seething masses, yet destined, I believe, to point the way to the whole world by the establishment of a sane and constructive socialism, free from all the excrescences that have developed around the central ideas in Europe, the result of the play of capitalism, tyranny, and autocracy on the one hand, and of anarchy and violent revolutionary propaganda on the other. Between these two extremes there is the possibility of the establishment of a constructive system of enlightened socialism, based on justice, love, and brotherhood, uniting the masses of the people into one compact unity, led by the most enlightened minds, electing the best men to the highest positions, organising industry on the basis of proper conditions of labor, the socialisation of the land and monopolies, the abolition of unemployment and poverty, and all other conditions that stand in the way of the masses living a full and complete human life, and thus fulfilling their destiny.

It is to get a clear insight into these principles that I have been wandering around the world, getting in touch with all sorts and conditions of men, ever seeking to get at the true basis of a real constructive policy, comparing all schools of thought one with another, all methods that make for organisation, consolidation, and co-operation, all ways and means to benefit and assist the worker, both when in work and when unemployed or sick. And ever I have kept in view the idea—the central idea—of how to apply these methods to Australian conditions—because all these revolutionary movements of the old world are the result—the outcome of old-world conditions, and Australia is a new country, capable of infinite expansion, having few of the conditions that make Europe so terrible for the worker, and result in the development of the worst side of the revolutionary spirit.

Now in Australia the Labor movement has gained most of the things the workers of the rest of the world are still fighting for—universal suffrage, equal electorates, &c.—at least for the Federal Government and in the State Lower Houses, mostly, that is, politically, they have gained nearly all that is required; and industrially, also, much has been won that in Europe the workers are still fighting for. Therefore, the question arose as to what direction a broad, comprehensive, constructive policy should take in order to weld not only the workers into a compact, solid, united body, earnestly endeavoring to maintain the standard of life and comfort they have already won, and to work together, consistently and steadily, to still further develop the Labor and Socialist policy; but also to unite the great body of cultured and educated professional classes with the masses of the people in order to work towards the development of the Labor programme, and ultimately reach the goal in view. Obviously a revolutionary agitation is a disadvantage here, while a constructive programme should compel the support and adherence of the most enlightened of the professional classes. It is too often forgotten that the Labor movement is based on an adequate philosophy; that it is reasonable and just; that it has a sound constructive side that must be recognised and adopted before it can claim the adherence of the fairly comfortable classes under the present regime.

Now, Australia provides a magnificent field for the development of the constructive side of the Labor and Socialist policy. An enormous country, a small population, magnificent natural resources, away from the world's main capitalist machinations, the Australian Labor Party can develop their constructive ideas to their heart's content without hope of interference from the strongholds of capitalism. It is impossible to develop a complete constructive Socialist policy for Australia in a single article, but the whole idea necessitates a com-

of utility in themselves, should be directed with the object of keeping all the workers busily engaged, thus eliminating unemployment and consequent reduction of the standard of life.

To effect this the whole Labor movement must be organised and consolidated on scientific principles; every man won to the side of Labor must be won for ever. This necessitates the inculcation of consistent support of the Labor newspapers as the very lifeblood of the movement, the payment of unemployed benefit by all trade unions in order to keep a man in the union and in close touch with the movement; and in every way federating all trades and professions into a compact body for the attainment of the ideal towards which Nature seems to be urging the whole of the world's populations. The unrest is universal, and it only waits for the development of a real, sound, constructive policy for the great and wonderful Labor movement to march consciously forward to the attainment of its cherished ideals—the right to live, to attain the fruits of one's labor, to unite all races in one brotherhood, and the establishment of a civilisation far in advance of anything yet attained by man. The late Mr. McPherson said on his deathbed—"Tell the boys to pull together," and it is only by this united effort that the Labor movement can elaborate and develop a constructive policy that will be worthy of the ideals of which the Labor and Socialist Parties are the progenitors, and reach goal for which all are striving. In preceding articles I will outline the constructive ideas on which the Australian Labor Party must develop if it is to win and retain the support of all unenlightened and thinking people, and raise up the fabric of a new Commonwealth. Labor has come into power in Australia. With perhaps an occasional setback it is likely to remain in power, but it must work for a grand constructive ideal, and accept the responsibilities that that power places in its hands. (To be continued at frequent intervals.)

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CONSTRUCTIVE SOCIALISM

A COMPREHENSIVE POLICY

SCIENCE OF SOCIAL ORGANISATION

By Victor E. Kroemer

No. XXII.

The development of the new civilisation, the reconstruction of society on the principles of Constructive Socialism, the founding of the co-operative Commonwealth, and the inauguration of a more beneficent state of affairs for the masses of the people is not a haphazard process attained by simply muddling through in the good old English fashion, but is a definite science, based on laws as exact as the science of mathematics and geometry. And it is the knowledge of these laws and the adoption of the principles on which they are based that are essential for the establishment of the desired conditions. What are the principles of the science of social organisation by means of which Constructive Socialism is to be inaugurated? The first principle may be defined by the axiom that the State is the extension of the individual, that the whole world is one commonwealth, and that an injury to the individual is an injury to the body politic. If that first axiom is accepted it leads to a second, that of duality, which implies that in any working system there are always two forces in operation—one working in one direction and the other in the opposite direction—and in the science of social organisation these two forces are recognised as being Capital and Labor, the two motive forces in any social system. From this idea springs the further idea that progress is to be attained by going beyond the line of least resistance, and finding the line of greatest efficiency in the working of these two forces. The dominance of Capital over Labor in the realm of industrial life means exploitation, unemployment, tyranny, starvation, and unparalleled misery for the workers of the world. On the other hand, the dominance of Labor over Capital in the realm of industrial life means revolution, chaos, anarchy, stagnation, rioting, and bloodshed owing to the fact that industry would be impossible under such conditions, and would lead to the rise of military dictators who would carve out kingdoms for themselves on the old lines. The science of social organisation, on the other hand, implies the harmonious utilisation of both the factors of capital and labor by the State for the benefit of the whole community, and this is to be attained by the nationalisation of monopolies, thus bringing both capital and labor under the control of the people in those directions, and, further, by the regulation of the hours of labor, the organisation of industry, the elimination of unemployment, and the abolition of poverty by means of the development of Constructive Socialism.

Capital and Labor as dual factors in the social structure must be harmonised. By this I do not mean that the interests of the capitalists and the workers are identical; their interests are opposite when under the control of private individuals. Therefore, in order to place both Capital and Labor into the right relationship with each other they must be brought under the ownership or control of the whole of the people—that is, the monopolies, the means of traction, the land, &c., must be owned by the people, and all else controlled by the will of the people, in order that the harmonious relationship between Capital and Labor may be maintained in a state of equilibrium, tyranny and exploitation averted, and unemployment and low wages abolished on the one side and strikes and riots abolished on the other hand—not by legislation prohibiting these things, but by a knowledge of and the removal of the causes that produce them. I do not believe in the abolition of the right to strike. Let us have the right to strike ever more clearly granted and defined than now; but, at the same time, let the causes that produce strikes, lockouts, and riots be removed by the regulation of the hours of labor, the living minimum wage, the decasualisation of labor, the organisation of industry, and the development of the country on sound scientific and economic lines. In other words, remove the causes of strikes, not abolish the effects of those causes by legal enactment, like King Canute of old, who commanded the sea to come no farther. So the tide of awakened labor will roll on in strikes and revolutionary propaganda as long as the harmonious adjustment of Capital and Labor is not attained, but when that is attained by means of Constructive Socialism, no legislation will be necessary

On the other hand, the Political Labor Party, while striving to ratify the fruits of the struggles of the trade unions in Parliament by means of wages boards, Compensation Acts, &c., must always bear in mind that its chief function is not to fight for Labor against Capital in the field of economic warfare, but to find the line of greatest efficiency between the two, to harmonise the relationship of Capital and Labor, not by urging the workers to knuckle under to the capitalists, or on the other hand to strike and revolt, but by means of the adoption of the principle of Constructive Socialism, and by the harmonising of the relations of Capital and Labor on an entirely new basis, by means of the ownership or control of the means of production, distribution, and exchange. It is the work of the trade unions to fight for better conditions from the capitalist, the work of the Political Labor Party being to establish a new state of society, a new civilisation, developing the country on a sound scientific basis, and welding the whole nation into one compact body whose interests are identical because of the fact that their collective ownership of land and monopolies and their control over all the means of livelihood establishes harmony between Capital and Labor, unites the capitalist and the worker in one, and makes all conditions work towards the benefit and the prosperity of the whole race.

It is necessary that both the trade unions and the Political Labor Party should understand their particular functions in the Australian Commonwealth, so that it being almost certain that the Labor Party will be vested with ever more and more power in Australian affairs, both in the Federal and State Parliaments they may act in accordance with the principles of the science of social organisation, and thus refrain from action in directions that will involve the Labor Party in ruin. Wisdom, understanding, and scientific administration must always be the watchwords of the Australian Labor Party, and then the development of the whole country would go on apace, its prosperity would increase, its people would have an abundance of happiness, and everywhere enlightenment, progress, and advancement would be the order of the day. To steer a clear course between the tyranny of the capitalist regime and the irresponsible revolutionary tendencies of uncontrolled individuals in the ranks of the democracy is a difficult task, but it must be done if the party is to become strong and retain the respect of all classes of the community. In order to accomplish this the first simple principles of the science of social organisation must always be borne in mind, and the ideal of Constructive Socialism ever held before the mental vision, so that whatever comes before the party will be regarded first from the standpoint whether, seeing that society is the extension of the individual, it can be regarded as beneficial to the whole community; and secondly, whether, seeing that Capital and Labor are a duality operating in the social organism, each on its own account and for its own interests, any proposition from one side or the other will affect the equilibrium of the social order and upset the balance and lead to exploitation and tyranny on the one hand, or revolution and anarchy on the other, and that the line of greatest efficiency lies in the harmonious adjustment of all these problems in such a way that the interests of both are conserved. So far as monopolies and land are concerned this can be accomplished only by means of public ownership, owing to the fact that capital, when in possession of a monopoly, has an overwhelming preponderance of power over labor, and no harmony is possible between the two while monopolies are in private hands. Hence the only scientific way of treating monopolies is to absorb them into the social ownership, and control them in the interests of the whole community. On the other hand, where the relations of Capital and Labor are fairly equally balanced, it is much better to merely control these industries than to own them also; that is to say, they may be taken over by the Government at a later stage in the proceedings if such a condition of affairs is considered desirable after the monopolies have been absorbed.

The whole subject, in other words

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The science of social organisation implies the organisation of both Capital and Labor in such a way that capital is utilised to its utmost and labor remunerated to its fullest extent and employed in the most efficient manner. When the capitalist views the situation purely from his own standpoint he sees that in order to reap a large profit he must always keep a number of men unemployed, so as to act as a lever to keep down and to lower wages, and in practice this is exactly what happens, the conscious or unconscious operation of capitalism on the community. But viewed from the standpoint of the science of social organisation, the unemployed man is a danger to the State, a drag upon his fellow-man, a disease in the body politic, and a defect in the social organisation, and at all costs unemployment should be abolished in order that Capital and Labor may meet each other on a natural and spontaneous basis, and not on an artificial basis resulting from the fact that the capitalist has a large unemployed reserve to draw upon, and is therefore enabled to pay the lowest wage possible. When the equilibrium has been obtained Labor will be able to demand just and reasonable conditions for all work done and reap an honorable reward for all labor performed, and when the principles of Constructive Socialism are in operation and the workers fully employed there would be a continual upward progress of all whose talents fitted them for more highly skilled employment and more artistic and efficient labor. Thus the whole industrial situation would become more and more beneficent as time went on, the workers would have more leisure to develop their minds and their talents, and thus everywhere the whole community would advance rapidly towards a prosperous and enlightened state. This is dependent on unemployment being utterly abolished, for once it appeared again it would set up the process that would drag down the whole system once more by the inevitable operation of the process outlined before. Therefore the first great step is the abolition of unemployment, and its abolition for ever, by destroying the causes whence it springs.

Capital, then, being one pole of duality of which Labor is the other, the difference between the trade-union movement and the political movement represented by the Labor Party is here to be found. The trade-union movement represents the attempt of the workers to obtain the fullest benefit from the capitalists under existing conditions. Therefore all efforts of the trades unions, if they wish to be successful, should be concentrated in that direction, and it is their function to fight for the things they consider essential for their welfare.

labor, and no monopoly is between the two white monopolies are in private hands. Hence the only scientific way of treating monopolies is to absorb them into the social ownership, and control them in the interests of the whole community. On the other hand, where the relations of Capital and Labor are fairly equally balanced, it is much better to merely control these industries than to own them also; that is to say, they may be taken over by the Government at a later stage in the proceedings if such a condition of affairs is considered desirable after the monopolies have been absorbed.

The whole subject in other words, must be considered from the standpoint not of the letter of doctrinaire Socialism, but in the spirit of Constructive Socialism, the welfare of the whole community being the first consideration, on the principle that the community is not the extension of the individual. This is the line of safety, of sanity, and of greatest efficiency. There is always a point or a degree at which both Capital and Labor can advance and progress together, and the whole problem consists in finding that point where the interests of Labor are considered to the full and where Capital can obtain legitimate returns. With monopolies such a condition of affairs is impossible, but when the hours of labor and rates of wages are established on a sound, scientific basis and unemployment abolished the point at which both the interests of Capital and Labor can be safeguarded will be very easy to find, and then it will be found that not only the workers but the capitalists will unite in supporting the Australian Labor Party in carrying out the principle of Constructive Socialism, and all the old parties will be annihilated.

It is obviously to the advantage of the commercial classes as a whole that the workers should be well paid, because when they are well paid they have more money to spend. Supposing a million workers were to get a rise of 5/ per week, there would be a million pounds per month more in circulation than under previous conditions, and the volume of trade would be increased by £12,000,000 per year, if not £15,000,000, and therefore the higher scale of wages for the workers would react beneficially on all industry and thus help the capitalist also. Now, when the monopolies are taken over by the State and the principles enumerated above are in operation every industry that does not conform to the harmonious arrangement suggested would be immediately taken in hand by the State for its own protection, so that it would be to all intents and purposes equivalent to complete ownership by the people, minus the necessity of buying out the industry unless so desired. So that the dividing line between State and private ownership would be merely on paper, yet the interests of all would be safeguarded. In other words, the cause of social inharmony is unemployment, and once unemployment and its opposite, overemployment are eliminated everything else will fall into its proper place in the social structure, and whether industries are owned or controlled by the State will not so much matter so long as the worker receives the full product of his labor, minus working expenses and administration. That represents the spirit of Constructive Socialism, organised along the lines of the science of social organisation.

(To be Continued.)

ANSWERS TO CORRESPONDENTS

- "Enquirer," Dulwich.—You don't specify what department you mean.
- T. D. Smith, Lamerco.—Shares are not sold by auction, but between brokers, and the list of shares is called by the Stock Exchange recorder. If you wish to buy shares you have not necessarily to state the price you are willing to give; the general term is to say "at best." You have to pay brokerage on shares bought through a broker.
- Mrs. Brazil, Balaklava.—The time is inopportune to inaugurate such a fund as you suggest. Your 5/ has therefore been divided between the "Raw" and "Lambden" funds, and you will see the amounts acknowledged in due course.

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and Tool Merchant
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Direct Importer

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 Prices.
 I am not selling off—but selling as Cheap as ever.
 New Shipments of Tools for all Trades arriving every month.
 I buy for Cash and sell for with the smallest margin of profit.
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CONSTRUCTIVE SOCIALISM

Published 1913

A COMPREHENSIVE CONSTRUCTIVE POLICY FOR AUSTRALIA

No. I.

By Victor E. Kroemer (now on a World's Tour)



After having made a careful study of Labor politics and Socialistic principles for many years in various parts of Australia, principally South Australia and Victoria, I decided to launch out on a still larger study, and take in the whole world's movement towards social salvation.

Therefore, on June 18, 1907, I sailed for Europe as delegate of the Australian and New Zealand Socialist Parties to the International Socialist Congress, held in Stuttgart, Germany, in the same year. There, as Australian representative on the International Socialist Bureau, I came into close contact with all the Socialist, Labor, and trade union leaders throughout the world—Bebel, the grand old man of German Socialism; the late Herr Singer; the mighty and eloquent Jaures, France's leader of the working classes; Vandervelder, Belgium's foremost exponent of Socialist principles; Hyndman, Quelch, and Macdonald, three of England's stalwarts; Victor Adler, Austria's leader; Hilquit, Simons, and De Leon, from the United States; and others too numerous to mention. Here were all ranged in conference the foremost thinkers of the mighty stirring impulse that is sweeping in a resistless tide throughout the entire world, at once a warning to this old world's rulers and a note of joy and hope for the masses of the nations, consolidating, moulding all into one comprehensive human brotherhood, uniting all in one solid fraternal comradeship, and ever moving onwards towards the goal of economic liberation and world-wide federation.

After the congress I spent five months in Germany working on a Socialist daily paper, the "Schwabischen Tagwacht," gaining a great insight into the methods, organisation, and wonderful genius of the German Social-Democratic Party. No praise is too great for the manner in which this wonderful party works, or the way in which the workers rally round the party, especially the support that is given to the Socialist daily press, the lifeblood of the movement.

From Germany I went to France, and in Paris I again made a comprehensive study of the Socialist movement there, which is an entirely different movement in many respects to that in Germany. In Germany the movement is peaceful, united, solid, and strong; in France, it is revolutionary, wild, turbulent, and split into warring factions; though nominally united, it lacks real solidarity.

Having learnt all I desired in France, I came over to England, and for the past four years I have been studying the English movement, gaining an acquaintance with the methods and ideas and progress of the stupendous English Labor movement, that is again very dissimilar to both the French and German movements, and working in an entirely different way. The English movement is strong, yet it has no press; it is clear-sighted, but not "revolutionary" in the French sense. The Englishman fights for concrete objects, not for abstract ideas or ideals. During all this time I have been accumulating ideas, facts, data, and experience, with my mind ever on the grand continent of Australia and her illimitable future, her marvellous possibilities for the establishment of a beneficent civilisation free from all the miseries and tyrannies of the older countries; lying far in the south, out of the way of the world's seething masses, yet destined, I believe, to point the way to the whole world by the establishment of a sane and constructive socialism, free from all the excrescences that developed around the central ideas in Europe, the result of the play of capitalism, tyranny, and autocracy on the one hand, and of anarchy and violent revolutionary propaganda on the other. Between these two extremes there is the possibility of the establishment of a constructive system of enlightened socialism, based on justice, love, and brotherhood, uniting the masses of the people into one compact

comprehensive grasp of Australian conditions, and the possibilities of its immediate future development. It must also be remembered that increasing prosperity will attract large numbers of workers to Australia from all parts of the world to share in that prosperity, thus necessitating a continual readjustment of the constructive machinery. Capitalism is based in the last analysis on unemployment—that is, on the idea of keeping an excess body of workers unemployed in order that they may act as a lever to reduce wages and increase the hours of labor. Now, in Australia the continual expansion of the country, the settling of new areas, and the discovery of new mines, &c., acts as a counteracting influence to that process, and by eliminating to a large extent the unemployed factor enables the worker to demand a larger wage and less hours of labor. On the other hand, the influx of new immigrants neutralises the expansive influence, or tends to do so. The reduction of the hours of labor tends to keep a larger body of workers employed, and therefore is a definite constructive method, while all attempts to increase wages immediately cause a rise in the price of goods, rents, &c., and do not necessarily provide more employment, but create a large army of unemployed, as increased prices cause the workers to send their daughters and younger sons out to work, thus creating a larger supply of labor and lessening the demand. By shortening the hours of labor a man is enabled to spend more time at home; he is enabled to take a small block of land and grow his own fruit and vegetables, keep a few fowls, &c., and in other ways increase his actual wages, help his womenfolk at home, and make life interesting generally. Also a larger number of workers are employed, unemployment is decreased, and trade develops owing to the increased amount of actual cash liberated for the purpose of obtaining manufactured goods, due to growing a proportion of his own foodstuffs. Obviously from this it is necessary that the workers should have their own houses and plots of land. In Australia there is plenty of land for the purpose, and a constructive Socialist policy would aim at getting at that land in the direction indicated.

Then there should be a continuous policy towards the expansion of the country in the opening up of new areas, the building of new railways, works of all kinds, the settlement of the land, &c. All of which, while being necessary and of utility in themselves, should be directed with the object of keeping all the workers busily engaged, thus eliminating unemployment and consequent reduction of the standard of life.

To effect this the whole Labor movement must be organised and consolidated on scientific principles; every man won to the side of Labor must be won for ever. This necessitates the inculcation of consistent support of the Labor newspapers as the very lifeblood of the movement, the payment of unemployed benefit by all trade unions in order to keep a man in the union and in close touch with the movement; and in every way federating all trades and professions into a compact body for the attainment of the ideal towards which Nature seems to be urging the whole of the world's populations. The unrest is universal, and it only waits for the development of a real, sound, constructive policy for the great and wonderful Labor movement to march consciously forward to the attainment of its cherished ideals—the right to live, to attain the fruits of one's labor, to unite all races in one brotherhood, and the establishment of a civilisation far in advance of anything yet attained by man. The late Mr. McPherson said on his deathbed—"Tell the boys to pull together," and it is only by this united effort that the Labor movement can elaborate and develop a constructive policy that will be worthy of the grand ideals of which the Labor and Socialist Parties are the progenitors, and reach the goal for which all are striving. In succeeding articles I will outline the main constructive ideas on which the Australian Labor Party must develop if it is to win and retain the support of all rational and thinking people, and raise up the fabric of a new Commonwealth. Labor has come into power in Australia. With perhaps an occasional setback, it is likely to remain in power,

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It is to get a clear insight into these principles that I have been wandering around the world, getting in touch with all sorts and conditions of men, ever seeking to get at the true basis of a real constructive policy, comparing all schools of thought one with another, all methods that make for organisation, consolidation, and co-operation, all ways and means to benefit and assist the worker, both when in work and when unemployed or sick. And ever I have kept in view the idea—the central idea—of how to apply these methods to Australian conditions—because all these revolutionary movements of the old world are the result—the outcome of old-world conditions, and Australia is a new country, capable of infinite expansion, having few of the conditions that make Europe so terrible for the worker, and result in the development of the worst side of the revolutionary spirit.

Now in Australia the Labor movement has gained most of the things the workers of the rest of the world are still fighting for—universal suffrage, equal electorates, &c.—at least for the Federal Government and in the State Lower Houses, mostly, that is, politically, they have gained nearly all that is required; and industrially, also, much has been won that in Europe the workers are still fighting for. Therefore, the question arose as to what direction a broad, comprehensive, constructive policy should take in order to weld not only the workers into a compact, solid, united body, earnestly endeavoring to maintain the standard of life and comfort they have already won, and to work together, consistently and steadily, to still further develop the Labor and Socialist policy; but also to unite the great body of cultured and educated professional classes with the masses of the people in order to work towards the development of the Labor programme, and ultimately reach the goal in view. Obviously a revolutionary agitation is a disadvantage here, while a constructive programme should compel the support and adherence of the most enlightened of the professional classes. It is too often forgotten that the Labor movement is based on an adequate philosophy; that it is reasonable and just; that it has a sound constructive side that must be recognised and adopted before it can claim the adherence of the fairly comfortable classes under the present regime.

Now, Australia provides a magnificent field for the development of the constructive side of the Labor and Socialist policy. An enormous country, a small population, magnificent natural resources, away from the world's main capitalist machinations, the Australian Labor Party can develop their constructive ideas to their heart's content without hope of interference from the strongholds of capitalism. It is impossible to develop a complete constructive Socialist policy for Australia in a single article, but the whole idea necessitates

policy towards the expansion of the country in the opening up of new areas, the building of new railways, works of all kinds, the settlement of the land, &c. All of which, while being necessary and of utility in themselves, should be directed with the object of keeping all the workers busily engaged, thus eliminating unemployment and consequent reduction of the standard of life.

To effect this the whole Labor movement must be organised and consolidated on scientific principles; every man won to the side of Labor must be won for ever. This necessitates the inculcation of consistent support of the Labor newspapers as the very lifeblood of the movement, the payment of unemployed benefit by all trade unions in order to keep a man in the union and in close touch with the movement; and in every way federating all trades and professions into a compact body for the attainment of the ideal towards which Nature seems to be urging the whole of the world's populations. The unrest is universal, and it only waits for the development of a real, sound, constructive policy for the great and wonderful Labor movement to march consciously forward to the attainment of its cherished ideals—the right to live, to attain the fruits of one's labor, to unite all races in one brotherhood, and the establishment of a civilisation far in advance of anything yet attained by man. The late Mr. McPherson said on his deathbed—"Tell the boys to pull together," and it is only by this united effort that the Labor movement can elaborate and develop a constructive policy that will be worthy of the grand ideals of which the Labor and Socialist Parties are the progenitors, and reach the goal for which all are striving. In succeeding articles I will outline the main constructive ideas on which the Australian Labor Party must develop if it is to win and retain the support of all unbraind and thinking people, and raise up the fabric of a new Commonwealth. Labor has come into power in Australia. With perhaps an occasional check it is likely to remain in power, but it must work for a grand constructive ideal, and accept the responsibilities that power places in its hands. (To be continued at frequent intervals.)

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CONSTRUCTIVE SOCIALISM

A COMPREHENSIVE POLICY

SCIENCE OF SOCIAL ORGANISATION

By Victor E. Kroemer

No. XXII.

The development of the new civilisation, the reconstruction of society on the principles of Constructive Socialism, the founding of the co-operative Commonwealth, and the inauguration of a more beneficent state of affairs for the masses of the people is not a haphazard process attained by simply muddling through in the good old English fashion, but is a definite science, based on laws as exact as the science of mathematics and geometry. And it is the knowledge of these laws and the adoption of the principles on which they are based that are essential for the establishment of the desired conditions. What are the principles of the science of social organisation by means of which Constructive Socialism is to be inaugurated? The first principle may be defined by the axiom that the State is the extension of the individual, that the whole world is one commonwealth, and that an injury to the individual is an injury to the body politic. If that first axiom is accepted it leads to a second, that of duality, which implies that in any working system there are always two forces in operation—one working in one direction and the other in the opposite direction—and in the science of social organisation these two forces are recognised as being Capital and Labor, the two motive forces in any social system. From this idea springs the further idea that progress is to be attained by going beyond the line of least resistance, and finding the line of greatest efficiency in the working of these two forces. The dominance of Capital over Labor in the realm of industrial life means exploitation, unemployment, tyranny, starvation, and unparalleled misery for the workers of the world. On the other hand, the dominance of Labor over Capital in the realm of industrial life means revolution, chaos, anarchy, stagnation, rioting, and bloodshed owing to the fact that industry would be impossible under such conditions, and would lead to the rise of military dictators who would carve out kingdoms for themselves on the old lines. The science of social organisation, on the other hand, implies the harmonious utilisation of both the factors of capital and labor by the State for the benefit of the whole community, and this is to be attained by the nationalisation of monopolies, thus bringing both capital and labor under the control of the people in those directions, and, further, by the regulation of the hours of labor, the organisation of industry, the elimination of unemployment, and the abolition of poverty by means of the development of Constructive Socialism.

Capital and Labor as dual factors in the social structure must be harmonised. By this I do not mean that the interests of the capitalists and the workers are identical; their interests are opposite when under the control of private individuals. Therefore, in order to place both Capital and Labor into the right relationship with each other they must be brought under the ownership or control of the whole of the people—that is, the monopolies, the means of traction, the land, &c., must be owned by the people, and all else controlled by the will of the people, in order that the harmonious relationship between Capital and Labor may be maintained in a state of equilibrium, tyranny and exploitation averted, and unemployment and low wages abolished on the one side and strikes and riots abolished on the other hand—not by legislation prohibiting these things, but by a knowledge of and the removal of the causes that produce them. I do not believe in the abolition of the right to strike. Let us have the right to strike ever more clearly granted and defined than now; but, at the same time, let the causes that produce strikes, lockouts, and riots be removed by the regulation of the hours of labor, the living minimum wage, the declassification of labor, the organisation of industry, and the development of the country on sound scientific and economic lines. In other words, remove the causes of strikes, not abolish the effects of those causes by legal enactment like King

On the other hand, the Political Labor Party, while striving to ratify the fruits of the struggles of the trade unions in Parliament by means of wages boards, Compensation Acts, &c., must always bear in mind that its chief function is not to fight for Labor against Capital in the field of economic warfare, but to find the line of greatest efficiency between the two, to harmonise the relationship of Capital and Labor, not by urging the workers to knuckle under to the capitalists, or on the other hand to strike and revolt, but by means of the adoption of the principles of Constructive Socialism, and by the harmonising of the relations of Capital and Labor on an entirely new basis, by means of the ownership or control of the means of production, distribution, and exchange. It is the work of the trade unions to fight for better conditions from the capitalist, the work of the Political Labor Party being to establish a new state of society, a new civilisation, developing the country on a sound scientific basis, and welding the whole nation into one compact body whose interests are identical because of the fact that their collective ownership of land and monopolies and their control over all the means of livelihood establishes harmony between Capital and Labor, unites the capitalist and the worker in one, and makes all conditions work towards the benefit and the prosperity of the whole race.

It is necessary that both the trade unions and the Political Labor Party should understand their particular functions in the Australian Commonwealth, so that (it being almost certain that the Labor Party will be vested with ever more and more power in Australian affairs, both in the Federal and State Parliaments) they may act in accordance with the principles of the science of social organisation, and thus refrain from action in directions that will involve the Labor Party in ruin. Wisdom, understanding, and scientific administration must always be the watchwords of the Australian Labor Party, and then the development of the whole country would go on apace, its prosperity would increase, its people would have an abundance of happiness, and everywhere enlightenment, progress, and advancement would be the order of the day. To steer a clear course between the tyranny of the capitalist regime and the irresponsible revolutionary tendencies of uncontrolled individuals in the ranks of the democracy is a difficult task, but it must be done if the party is to become strong and retain the respect of all classes of the community. In order to accomplish this the first simple principles of the science of social organisation must always be borne in mind, and the ideal of Constructive Socialism ever held before the mental vision, so that whatever comes before the party will be regarded first from the standpoint whether, seeing that society is the extension of the individual, it can be regarded as beneficial to the whole community; and secondly, whether, seeing that Capital and Labor are a duality operating in the social organism, each on its own account and for its own interests, any proposition from one side or the other will affect the equilibrium of the social order and upset the balance and lead to exploitation and tyranny on the one hand, or revolution and anarchy on the other, and that the line of greatest efficiency lies in the harmonious adjustment of all these problems in such a way that the interests of both are conserved. So far as monopolies and land are concerned this can be accomplished only by means of public ownership, owing to the fact that capital, when in possession of a monopoly, has an overwhelming preponderance of power over labor, and no harmony is possible between the two while monopolies are in private hands. Hence the only scientific way of treating monopolies is to absorb them into the social ownership, and control them in the interests of the whole community. On the other hand, where the relations of Capital and Labor are fairly equally balanced

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of the right to strike. Let us have the right to strike ever more clearly granted and defined than now; but, at the same time, let the causes that produce strikes, lockouts, and riots be removed by the regulation of the hours of labor, the living minimum wage, the decentralization of labor, the organization of industry, and the development of the country on sound scientific and economic lines. In other words, remove the causes of strikes, not abolish the effects of those causes by legal enactment like King Canby's act, who commanded the men to come no farther. So the tide of awakened labor will roll on in strikes and revolutionary propaganda as long as the harmonious adjustment of Capital and Labor is not attained, but when that is attained by means of Constructive Socialism no legislation will be necessary to prohibit strikes, as they will not arise owing to the beneficent conditions prevailing. This is where I want to define my attitude to both revolutionary propaganda and to strikes also. I am neither for nor against revolutions or strikes. I regard them as manifestations of the play of the pendulum swinging between Capital and Labor, owing to the lack of balance between the two. When Capital becomes tyrannous, revolutions and strikes are the inevitable outcome, and anyone who says he is opposed to strikes, as I have heard some Labor leaders among others say in England, is a fool, and lacks insight into the causes of things, and has obscured the issue in his own mind, and does not understand whence these things come and whither they are tending. But because I have discovered the laws on which the whole social system is based, and know the causes of social inharmony, and know the way that this inharmony can be abolished, and know whither things are tending, I say that I am neither for nor against revolutions or strikes, but regard them as the results of the machinations of capitalists and the outcome of the lack of adjustment between Capital and Labor. The only way to adjust these relationships is by bringing the two together under the ownership and control of the whole community, the nation owning the monopolies and controlling all the rest. This is the only legitimate way out of the social disorganization, and the way towards the new civilisation and the establishment of the co-operative Commonwealth.

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pushed only by means of the fact that capital, when ship, owing to the fact that capital, when in possession of a monopoly, has an overwhelming preponderance of power over labor, and no harmony is possible between the two while monopolies are in private hands. Hence the only scientific way of treating monopolies is to absorb them into the social ownership, and control them in the interests of the whole community. On the other hand, where the relations of Capital and Labor are fairly equally balanced, it is much better to merely control these industries than to own them; that is to say, they may be taken over by the Government at a later stage in the proceedings if such a conclusion of affairs is considered desirable after the monopolies have been absorbed.

The whole subject, in other words, must be considered from the standpoint not of the letter of doctrinaire socialism, but in the spirit of Constructive Socialism, the welfare of the whole community being the first consideration, on the principle that the community is not the extension of the individual. This is the line of safety, of sanity, and of greatest efficiency. There is always a point or a degree at which both Capital and Labor can advance and progress together, and the whole problem consists in finding that point where the interests of Labor are considered to the full and where Capital can obtain legitimate returns. With monopolies such a condition of affairs is impossible, but when the hours of labor and rates of wages are established on a sound, scientific basis and unemployment abolished the point at which both the interests of Capital and Labor can be safeguarded will be very easy to find, and then it will be found that not only the workers but the capitalists will unite in supporting the Australian Labor Party in carrying out the principle of Constructive Socialism, and all the old parties will be annihilated.

It is obviously to the advantage of the commercial classes as a whole that the workers should be well paid, because when they are well paid they have more money to spend. Supposing a million workers were to get a rise of 5% per week, there would be a million pounds per month more in circulation than under previous conditions, and the volume of trade would be increased by £12,000,000 per year, if not £13,000,000, and therefore the higher scale of wages for the workers would react beneficially on all industry and thus help the capitalist also. Now, when the monopolies are taken over by the State and the principles enumerated above are in operation every industry that does not conform to the harmonious arrangement suggested would be immediately taken in hand by the State for its own protection, so that it would be to all intents and purposes equivalent to complete ownership by the people, minus the necessity of buying out the industry unless so desired. So that the dividing line between State and private ownership would be merely on paper, yet the interests of all would be safeguarded. In other words, the cause of social inharmony is unemployment, and once unemployment and its opposite, overemployment are eliminated everything else will fall into its proper place in the social structure, and whether industries are owned or controlled by the State will not so much matter so long as the worker receives the full product of his labor, minus working expenses and administration. That represents the spirit of Constructive Socialism, organized along the lines of the science of social organisation.

(To be Continued.)

ANSWERS TO CORRESPONDENTS

"Enquirer," Dulwich.—You don't specify what department you mean.
 T. D. Smith, Lamerco.—Shares are not sold by auction, but between brokers, and the list of shares is called by the Stock Exchange recorder. If you wish to buy shares you have not necessarily to state the price you are willing to give; the general term is to say "at best." You have to pay brokerage on shares bought through a broker.
 Mrs. Brazil, Balskleva.—The time is inopportune to inaugurate such a fund as you suggest. Your 5/ has therefore been divided between the "Raw" and "Lambden" funds, and you will see the amounts acknowledged in due course.

SID ROWE
 Cash Ironmonger
 and Tool Merchant
 102 HINDLEY STREET
 Direct Importer
 DON'T BE MISLED BY FANCY
 Prices.

I am not selling off—but selling as cheap as ever.
 New Shipments of Tools for all Trades arriving every month.
 I buy for Cash and sell for profit with the smallest margin of profit.

SOUTH AUSTRALIAN LABOR MOVEMENT

THE GENESIS OF POLITICAL ACTION

By VICTOR E. CROMER.

Expanded slightly from 1922

The purpose of this series is to trace the historical development of the political idea in the trade union movement, and to point out the causes which impelled the trades unions, especially those of South Australia, to take up political action, and to endeavor to obtain direct political representation. An outline of the evolution of political Labor action will follow.

As there are a number of gaps in the story, owing to lack of necessary data, &c., the writer would be pleased to obtain any information having a direct bearing on the subject, especially the earlier phases.

Chapter II.

BIRTH OF THE ADELAIDE TRADES AND LABOR COUNCIL.

Before the advent of the Adelaide Trades and Labor Council in South Australia there were a few trades unions in existence. The following list of unions, which were represented at the Trades Union Congress of 1886 in Adelaide will, however, give some idea of the number of unions and their membership at that time. The list is taken from the report of the congress—Port Adelaide Working Men's Association, 625 members; Federated Seamen's Union, Port Adelaide, 475 members; Operative Bootmakers' Union, 350 members; Typographical Society, 220 members; Federated Stewards and Cooks' Union, 200 members; Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants, 120 members; Enginemen and Firemen's Association, 170; Operative Masons and Bricklayers' Association, 130; Builders' Laborers' Union, —; Amalgamated Society of Engineers, Adelaide Branch, 90, Port Adelaide Branch 75; Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners, Adelaide Branch, 52, Port Adelaide Branch, —; Operative Masons and Bricklayers' Society, Port Adelaide, —; Port Adelaide Shipwrights' Society, 45; Boiler-makers and Iron Shipbuilders' Society, —; Journeymen Bakers' Association, —; Saddle, Harness, and Collarmakers' Society, —; Society of Coopers, —; Tanners' Union, Iron Moulders' Society, —; Adelaide Tailors' Society, —; Society of Coach-makers, 70; Curriers' Society, —. As will be seen, a number of the unions did not send in their membership totals.

As very little is known concerning the number of members of the various trades unions in South Australia prior to the advent of the Adelaide Trades and Labor Council, I would be pleased if any trades unionists interested in the history of the movement in South Australia could supply the particulars of membership of their unions from their inception.

—Small Beginnings.—

Like all movements of a similar character, having for their object the uplifting of the masses by obtaining concessions from any form of invested interests, the beginnings of the Adelaide Trades and Labor Council were very inconspicuous, and the establishment of the organization rested on the shoulders of two or three enthusiasts. The preliminary meeting in connection with the formation of the Trades and Labor Council was held in the Bristol Tavern, on January 31, 1884. The minutes of that meeting, taken from the official minute book of the Trades and Labor Council, read as follows:—

"At a large and representative meeting of delegates from the various trade and labor societies in South Australia, called together by special advertisement for the purpose of discussing the advisability or otherwise of forming a United Trades and Labor Council in this colony for the purpose of uniting more closely the various trade societies, and for discussing unitedly any question affecting the welfare of any society, and for the purpose of having more political influence in the colony.

—The First Officers.—

Mr. F. A. Freer was unanimously elected to the chair, and explained to the meeting the objects of such a council. On the motion of Mr. Knight, seconded by Mr. Clements, it was resolved that steps should immediately be taken to form the said council. Mr. Hannah was elected as secretary pro tem, and was instructed to write to the secretary of the Trades Council in Melbourne with a view of obtaining a copy of the rules and laws of that council, in order to see how the council in Melbourne was ruled and governed."

"At a large and representative gathering at the meeting, when the delegates met for the second meeting at the Bristol Tavern, in Franklyn Street on February 22, 1884, there were only six delegates present, in addi-

tion to the president and secretary, and on March 12 only four delegates attended, representing two societies, those present being Messrs. Burns, Bown, and Zadow, from the Tailors' Society, and Mr. Boyce, from the Plasterers' Society, and the president and secretary.

However, at the meeting on February 22, 1884, the following were present:—Mr. F. A. Freer (chair), Mr. Jenkins, Carpenters and Joiners; Mr. Henty, Painters; Mr. Boyce, Plasterers; Mr. Kindler, Masons and Bricklayers; Mr. Burns, Tailors; Mr. Betchell, Harness and collarmakers; Mr. Hannah, secretary, pro tem. The following officers were elected for a term of six months:—President, Mr. F. A. Freer; secretary, Mr. R. Hannah; treasurer, Mr. Henty. It was decided that the entrance fee be ten shillings for each society, with a contribution of 3d. per week, and that the meetings be held fortnightly. It was decided that 50 circulars be printed stating the aims and objects of the council, to be sent to the various societies. (The writer would be pleased if any society could forward to him a copy of that circular for inclusion in this history.)

—Need for a Labor Press.—

As indicating at that early stage the need for a labor press, at the meeting of the council on March 7, it was decided that the secretary write to the "Advertiser," contradicting some statements made in reference to the building trade in a sub-leader. It was also suggested at that meeting that a copy of the "Penny Trumpet" be sent to each society, as it pointed out directly the aims and objects of the council. (A copy of the "Penny Trumpet" with the article in would be very acceptable.)

—Code of Rules.—

From March 12, 1884, the place of meeting was shifted to the Sir John Barleycorn Hotel, Rundle street. On March 19, 1884 only five being present, the meeting was adjourned owing to the limited attendance. On March 28 a committee of the following was appointed to meet at the Sir John Barleycorn Hotel on April 1 to consider the advisability of adopting the code of rules forwarded from Melbourne:—Mr. Bown, tailors; Mr. Boyce, plasterers; Mr. Henty, painters; Mr. Covey, builders' laborers; and the secretary, Mr. Hannah.

At the meeting of April 26 the president (Mr. F. A. Freer) was instructed "to visit the several societies with the object of persuading them to send delegates to the council." The president subsequently visited a number of societies, and from this time onward the number of societies affiliated gradually increased, and the meetings were more largely attended.

—The First Industrial Dispute.—

At the meeting of May 2, 1884, the first effort in connection with an industrial dispute was made by the council, it being decided "that the secretary write to the Bakers' Society in the name of the council expressing sympathy with them in their contemplated strike, and promising to support them as far as possible in helping them to attain their just rights from their employers, and also asking them to send delegates to the council."

At a subsequent meeting, on May 9, Mr. Swanston, from the Bakers' Society, attended the council, and it was decided "that each delegate, on giving his report to his society, explain the necessity of withholding the journeymen bakers in their contemplated strike by advising each member to withhold his custom from the baker who will not grant the very reasonable demands of the men." At a meeting on May 29, 1884, Mr. Swanston, for the bakers, stated that the men were still on strike, and that they intended starting

On July Committee of Staff, ment of House at

As addment at September

The First Officers.—
Mr. F. A. Fraer was unanimously elected to the chair, and explained to the meeting the objects of such a council. On the motion of Mr. Knight, seconded by Mr. Clements, it was resolved that steps should immediately be taken to form the said council. Mr. Hannah was elected as secretary pro tem, and was instructed to write to the secretary of the Trades Council in Melbourne with a view of obtaining a copy of the rules and laws of that council, in order to see how the council in Melbourne was done and governed.

Also for the "large and representative" gathering at the first meeting. When the delegates met for the second meeting at the Bristol Tavern, in Frankfort street on February 22, 1884, there were only six delegates present, in addition to support them as far as possible in helping them to attain their just rights from their employers, and also asking them to send delegates to the council."

At a subsequent meeting, on May 9, Mr. Swainston, from the Bakers' Society, attended the council, and it was decided "that each delegate, on giving his report to his society, explain the necessity of upholding the journeymen bakers in their contemplated strike by advising each member to withhold his custom from the shops that will not grant the very reasonable demands of the men." At a meeting on May 23, 1884, Mr. Swainston, for the bakers, stated that the men were still on strike, and that they intended starting a co-operative bakery. The council decided to take steps to have a conference, if possible, with the masters, with a view to settling the dispute. The strike, however, ended in an unsatisfactory manner before the conference could be held.

A Trades Hall Proposed.—
At that same meeting Mr. Stoakes gave notice of motion to "Discuss at our next meeting the advisability of calling a public meeting with a view to forwarding the business of a trades hall." At the next meeting, on May 9, 1884, at the Sir John Barleycorn Hotel, Mr. Stoakes moved:—"That a public meeting be called to discuss various questions, notably the question of asking the Government for a piece of land in the city as a site for the proposed trades hall." This was seconded by Mr. Phillips, and carried unanimously. It was further decided to invite all trades and labor societies to attend the meeting. A committee, consisting of Messrs. Hannah, Freer, Stoakes, Arnold, Russell, Swainston, and Zadow was appointed to hold a preliminary meeting to draw up an agenda for the proposed public meeting. On June 13, 1884, it was decided that the council delegates confer with the Eight Hours Celebration Committee with regard to the proposed trades hall.

Unemployment Rife.—
Unemployment was rife in the colony of South Australia in 1884, largely owing to the unorganised state of the workers, and a large amount of the time of the early Trades and Labor Council meetings was taken up with the unemployed and immigration questions. On May 16 Mr. Phillips suggested "a deputation from this council to wait upon the Government to see if something can be done to employ some of the surplus labor in the colony." The president, Mr. Freer, proposed, "That a committee be appointed from this council to get up a requisition to present to his worship the Mayor, asking him to call a meeting in the town hall to discuss the immigration question, and to take immediate steps to provide work for the unemployed." On May 21 it was decided "That the secretary write to the city members asking them to attend a public meeting to be held in the town hall on May 27, 1884, to discuss the present depressed state of the labor market and the immigration question." Mr. Alford Grainger, M.P., at the next meeting wrote signifying his intention of being present, while Mr. Stirling regretted his inability to attend.

Parliamentary Committee.—
At the meeting of the council on June 6, 1884, the first Parliamentary Committee was established, which consisted of Messrs. Boyce, Arnold, Freer, Dalziel, and Pope. The object of this committee was to bring pressure to bear on the Liberal and Conservative members in order to get them to consider the interests of labor. This in practice proved largely a forlorn hope and led subsequently to the discussion which took place in 1886 at the Intercolonial Trade Union Congress on "Direct Representation of Labor in Parliament." On June 26, 1885, a Parliamentary Committee in accordance with the rules was formed, consisting of Messrs. Clements, Jenkins, Kean, Knight, Hannah, and Wells.

The Fearful Depression.—
The Parliamentary Committee met on July 2, when it was decided "That owing to fearful depression existing throughout the whole of the colony, this meeting strongly protests against the action of the Government in bringing more immigrants at the present time." A great mass meeting under the auspices of the Parliamentary Committee was held in the Town Hall on July 8, 1885, when the above and similar resolutions were put to the meeting and carried. The resolutions were put before the Commissioner of Crown Lands by a deputation on Tuesday July 7, 1885, to which the Commissioner replied, and the minutes state, "but did not give us much hope of effect being given to the wishes of the meeting," and an indignation meeting was subsequently held.

On July 16, 1885, the Parliamentary Committee resolved to support the candidature of Mr. Grainger for the district of Sturt, and also to support the movement of Members Bill in the House at the instigation of Mr. Grainger.

An Early Programme.—
As indicating the nature of the movement at that time, at a meeting held on September 19, 1885, Mr. Wells, the delegate to the International Trades and Labor Conference in Sydney, was instructed to support the following:—Payment of members, enfranchisement of seamen, nationalisation of land, the abolition of State-assisted immigration, boiler inspection, federation of labor in Australasia, Workshops and Factories Bill, direct taxation of land, and the extension of the hours of polling.

The Labor Ring.—
It is interesting to recall that, in place of the well known rendezvous, the Botanic Park, which has been so popular with Labor gatherings for many years, Victoria square was the original rallying place of the Labor stalwarts of the early days, and the first meeting of the kind held in Victoria square under the auspices of the newly formed Trades and Labor Council took place on Monday, August 25, 1884, when the subject of free and assisted immigration was ventilated.

First Half-Yearly Meeting.—
At the first half-yearly meeting on August 8, 1884, Mr. J. C. Clements was elected president, Mr. Arnold vice-president, Mr. R. Hannah secretary, and Mr. Pope treasurer. The meeting spent most of its time discussing the unemployed problem, and arrangements were made for a meeting of the unemployed.

Object to Political Character.—
On May 1, 1885, the president, Mr. Clements, reported "That the delegates of the Typographical Society objected to the political character of the council," but the council unanimously decided that "to be anything we must be political." This is a most interesting point at that early stage in its history, although even the Trades and Labor Council's idea at that period in being political was merely to exercise a certain amount of pressure on sitting members, and endeavoring to interest them in unemployment and tariff revision, which were then the principal subjects of discussion in the council. At the next meeting, May 15, 1885, Mr. Clements resigned as president owing to the carrying of a motion in which he was attacked because of his hostility to the Tariff Reform Association, which was advocating protection. At the next meeting Mr. R. Hannah was elected president.

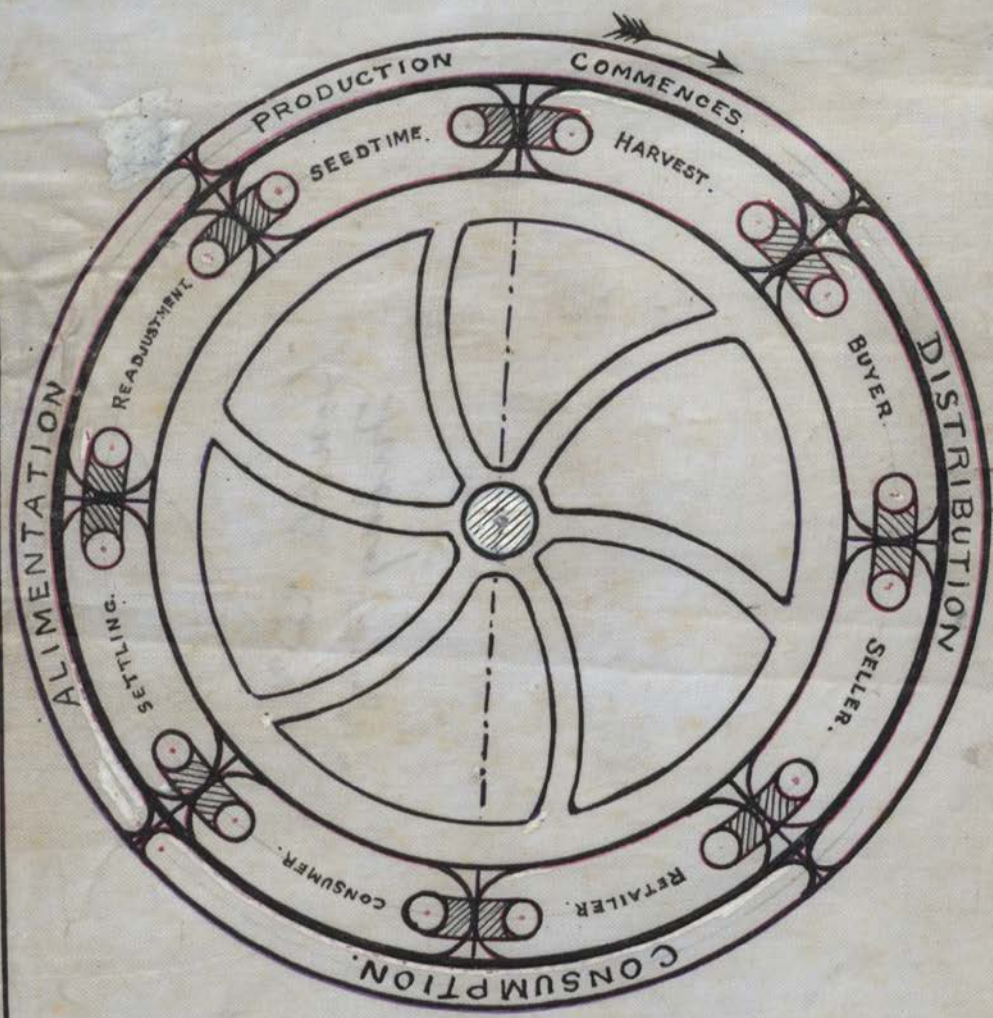
Period of Steady Growth.—
The period from the beginning of 1885 to the Intercolonial Trades Union Congress held in Adelaide in 1886 was one of steady growth, both of trades unionism and of the Trades and Labor Council, and much work was done in helping unions on strike, or in the prevention and settlement of strikes. On May 30, 1885, Mr. Carpenter, treasurer of the committee appointed, reported that they had collected £288 in South Australia to help the Melbourne bootmakers who were on strike, and in many other ways the Trades and Labor Council accomplished excellent work in the interests of labor.

(The next article will deal with the Intercolonial Trades Union Congress held in Adelaide in 1886.)

- Last of Subjects.**—
The subject will be dealt with as follows:—
Chapter I.—English Influences
Chapter II.—Birth of Adelaide Trades and Labor Council.
Chapter III.—The 1886 Trades Union Congress
Chapter IV.—From 1886 to 1890—The Growth of Trades Unionism.
Chapter V.—1890—The Maritime Strike.
Chapter VI.—1891—Birth of the Political Labor Party.
Chapter VII.—The Evolution of the Labor Press.
Chapter VIII.—1891 to 1914—The Development of Labor in Parliament.
Chapter IX.—Labor in Power.
Chapter X.—The Strength and Weakness of Labor in Politics—a Philosophical Discussion.

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